

2/1 - NYT - Pakistani journalists have suggested that Moscow may be putting too much faith in Pakistan's ability to control the mujahideen.

- LAT - Gen. Boris Gromov, the Soviet commander in Afghanistan, said that after the Soviet troops pull out, Moscow will no longer use its air power to support the ROA Gov't.

2/2 - NYT - Jon Glassman, the charge d'affaires who oversaw the closing of the US Embassy in Kabul, said in New Delhi that the possibility of a coup in the ROA Gov't might be likely. A coup could come from within the PDPA or from party & gov't employees who are sympathetic to the guerrillas. Regarding a bloodbath, he said, "The bloodbath is taking place now."

2/3 - LAT - On Massoud's strategy:

"Massoud's strategy will be, choke the capital, spread panic and anger toward the government through the people and the army and hopefully force a coup or a popular uprising against Najibullah," said one Western diplomat, whose government, like the United States, has favored the *mujahedeen*.

"When you look at all the warring factions within the *mujahedeen*, Massoud and his men are the real bright spot. And when you look at the importance of that tunnel, Massoud is the right man in the right place at the right time."



Massoud

2/5 - NYT - Shevardnadze arrived in Islamabad to confer with Pakistanis in an effort to avert political chaos & violence in Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. He told reporters at the airport: "It is not by mere chance that I am here. A number of questions & problems are arising." He hopes to meet with Mojaddidi when Mojaddidi returns from Iran.

Furthermore, hopes here that Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan will be able to build a close association of regional Islamic nations after the Soviet withdrawal depend on the establishment of a shura that satisfies both Teheran, which supports Afghanistan's minority Shiite Muslims, and Islamabad, which backs Sunni guerrilla armies.

"Pakistan is trying to get this shura so that an alternative to the Government in Kabul can be presented to the Soviet Union and to the rest of the world," said Kamal Matinuddin, a retired general who heads Pakistan's Institute of Strategic Studies. . . .

He said that the future of the Najibullah regime depended on access to the cities. If these are cut off effectively, the regime will fall more quickly, he said.

"The worst scenario for Kabul would be a coup from within," he added, followed by an invitation to the guerrillas, or holy warriors, as they style themselves.

"That would mean the likelihood of a bloodbath, at least a short bloodbath," he said.

2/5 - LAT - Yuli Vorontsov is in Tehran to meet with the Iran-based coalition of Afghan rebel groups.

2/6 - PT - Tass reported that Kabul is now under martial law; weapons have been distributed to all party organizations so everyone can "defend the cause for which the Afghan people suffered so many losses."

- Moh'd Hassan Sharq's wife & son flew to Delhi on 2/4 on an unscheduled Indian airlines flight which also carried families of other Afghan officials. Young Sharq is an Ariana pilot.

- Expatriate Afghans attending the Shoura include Mr. Tarzi (from Jeddah), Samad Hamid, Dr. Sarwary, Abdul Sattar Sirat & a 16-member delegation from Europe.

- LAT - Pravda reported that the last Soviet soldiers left Kabul yesterday. However some remain at the Kabul airport & in other areas of the country.

- NYT - After signing a pact with Afghan leaders in Tehran, Mojaddidi said that Afghan guerrillas would make up  $\frac{1}{2}$  the 560-570 member shura. Other members will be selected from the clergy, exiles & "faithful Muslims living inside Afghanistan."

- CSM - Edward Girardet writes on the shura:

Another obstacle is gaining acceptance for the shura among the commanders and civilians inside Afghanistan. Many of them believe the shura is a last-ditch attempt by the Peshawar politicians to hold onto their posts and control over the resources.

Various commanders and representatives from councils inside Afghanistan have protested the legitimacy of the shura. They resent the corruption and political bickering that for years has characterized the political parties based in Pakistan. They also see little reason for now supporting those who, for almost a decade, failed to create unity.

"They do not care about the people, only themselves. They make money, have big cars and are not hungry. They have never fought the war. Only the people [have fought]," says Muhammad

Gul, a refugee and former civil servant, in halting English.

In addition, the shura is widely seen as a creation of the Pakistani government, particularly the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) as the military intelligence organization is said. According to Western diplomats, international aid and resistance sources, Pakistan is intent on retaining influence over the resistance through the shura.

"It is quite clear that the Afghans will never be able to choose their own independent shura or government as long as it is done on foreign soil," says a West European aid coordinator.

Many commanders say they will not be able to speak freely in the shura. "We will go," says one commander from Kabul Province. "If we do, and they do not listen us, then we will leave."



Do you understand what we're fighting about?

2/7 - PT - The ICRC has opened 1st aid posts in Kunar & Paktia.

- Tass changed the wording of its martial law report (see 2/6) to "Kabul is practically under martial law."

- LAT - A Soviet army spokesman said Soviet troops were still in 5 of Afghanistan's 26 provinces, mostly in the north.

- Shevardnadze left Islamabad without meeting any guerrilla leaders. Many think his visit was a PR ploy to show the ROA Gov't that the Soviets had tried.

- NYT - Pakistan is sponsoring the shura scheduled for 2/10. Barbara Crossette asked whether the Soviets would recognize the results of Friday's parliamentary session in Islamabad if it does not include representatives of the People's Democratic Party, he said: "It is not we who insist on the participation by the [Najibullah party]. It is the [party] that does that. It has been a long time since we abandoned the idea of speaking for others."

He appeared to threaten renewed Soviet involvement in Afghanistan if the situation deteriorated.

"If new complications happen, if there are continued and rising tensions, continued interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, we will have to recall that the Soviet Union has obligations to Afghanistan," he said.

But he then ruled out the return of soldiers. "We are not thinking about any re-entry of Soviet troops," he said. He declined to answer a question about whether Soviet air power could be used to support the Najibullah regime.

2/8 - NYT - Lt. Gen Boris Gromov will be the last Soviet soldier to leave Afghanistan. He will cross the Soviet border at 10 a.m. on 2/15, according to a Soviet newspaper. (See 2/16 & p. 27)



Boris Gromov

- LAT - The Afghan Army warned residents along the Salang highway to flee their homes because of expected fighting. The ROA claimed to have given guns to 30,000 party members. A Soviet official said about 15,000 Soviet soldiers had been killed during the 9-year war.

- PT - A number of ROA Interior Ministry officials have obtained visas from the Indian Embassy in Kabul.

2/9 - HK Standard - Mojaddidi, back from Iran, said the Iranian groups had agreed to accept 80 seats on the 519-member shura.

2/9 - PT - France will delay supplying emergency aid to Afghanistan until it becomes clear whether the aid will promote peace or simply help the Najibullah regime stay in power.

- The US said relief shipments to Afghans could not get through unless all parties agreed to cooperate.

- NYT - Egyptair pilots refused to fly UN relief supplies to Kabul. UN officials are looking for another airline.

- Pres. Bush ordered a high-level review of American policy toward Afghanistan. Richard Haass, senior Director for Near East & South Asian Affairs at the Nat'l Security Council, will be in charge.

- The Afghan News Agency reported that, as a 1st step in forcing the surrender of the ROA Gov't, the guerrillas plan to close airports in Afghan cities.

- Donatella Lorch reported that guerrillas in Nangarhar feel that the greatest threats to stability in that area are Gulbuddin's party & the Saudi-backed Wahabi groups.

Many commanders also oppose the shura or consultative council, that is to convene in Islamabad, the Pakistani capital, on Friday to select an interim government for Afghanistan. The most frequently expressed criticism is that it is only representative of the political leadership of the whole Afghan nation.

Many commanders have refused to attack Jalalabad or Kabul because they are not facing them. In particular, Mr. Hekmatyar, may act independently of the other parties and attack the cities and that the others would then feel compelled to follow suit.

"They have told us we must attack now," a commander from one of the more fundamentalist parties said of the Pakistanis. "That way, they hope that we can continue our fighting and push the mujahedeen they want to the front."

The commanders inside Afghanistan are faced with the same kind of criticism of the role played by the Inter-Services Intelligence, the branch of the Pakistani military that has controlled the arms distribution to the guerrillas. "We have many, many problems. The CIA, the ISI, the Wahabis," Mr. Akbarzai said. "Just let the Afghans do it by themselves. Like I said, most of our commanders, he is critical of outside interference at this stage of the war."

CANVAS ONE LAST THING BEFORE  
WE BID A FOND FAREWELL TO  
THE GALLANT AFGHAN PEOPLE...



2/10 - HK Standard - Najibullah told the army & militia to be ready for more war after the Soviet withdrawal. - France said it was sending a team of doctors to treat Afghan civilians in Kabul.

- NYT - The ROA ordered the evacuation of the villages of Shakar Darra, Karabagh, Kalakan, Bagran & Mirbacakot in preparation for an expected offensive against the guerrillas. The villages are about 45 miles north of Kabul along the Salang highway.



2/11 - LAT - Yesterday's shura ended shortly after the opening prayers. Many Afghans view the shura as being forced on them by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia & the US:

"America again is taking the wrong policy in this," declared Ghulam Khan Waziri, a senior official of the moderate Afghan National Liberation Front party headed by Sibghatullah Mojadedi.

"We are struggling not only with the Soviet Union. We are struggling with our other neighbors and any other power that tries to impose on us. We want our freedom. We don't want to be a puppet to this regime or that regime."

The moderates view the fundamentalist parties that hold the majority in the alliance as political thugs who already have lost the support of the local guerrilla commanders they armed during the war, Waziri and others said.

- LAT - The US will supply military aid to the mujahideen as long as the Soviets continue to support the Najibullah gov't - "positive symmetry."

- HK Standard - ROA Army High Command Chief Moh'd Asef Delawar threatened to meet a rebel attack on Kabul with harsher counter-attacks than have taken place in other cities.



■ General Delawar ...

2/12 - Washington Post - Najibullah, in a televised speech, accused Pakistan of planning to invade Afghanistan with the intention of annexing it "under the pretext of confederation."

- LAT - The Bush Administration will press for the replacement of the Najibullah regime as quickly as possible & will supply the resistance as long as it's necessary to accomplish this.

- NYT - American humanitarian aid for Afghanistan is set at \$150m this year, an increase of \$23m over 1988. However, US officials think US interest in Afghanistan will slide after the Soviets withdraw.

In the long run, though, if the United States looks at Afghanistan through the optic of Realpolitik, it can probably live with any government but a Communist one, even one tinged with Islamic fundamentalism.

"The bottom line is that Afghanistan is not Iran," said an Administration official. "It has no oil reserves and isn't located on the Persian Gulf. It's not a particular strategic prize that has to be guarded at all costs. We have to be realistic about that."

2/13 - HK Standard - Gulbuddin ruled out massive onslaughts against Afghan cities, saying the plan is to lay siege to the cities. He predicted that the ROA Gov't would collapse in a few weeks & said there was no possibility of civil war breaking out because everyone was tired of fighting.

- LAT - Benazir Bhutto denied Najibullah's charge that her gov't plans to invade Afghanistan (see 2/12). "We've got enough problems of nat'l integration."

- Abdul Haq said rebel commanders inside Afghanistan have a "security plan."

He said that rebel commanders inside Afghanistan have a plan to secure all government buildings, embassies, international agencies and private property in the Afghan capital of Kabul and other major cities.

If they [the rebel political par-

ties] cannot come together for whatever reasons, we cannot just let the country finish and burn and be destroyed just because of this problem," said Haq, who is regarded as one of the most powerful rebel commanders in the Kabul region.

"The best way is to have an interim government to install. But in case there is disagreement, we have to be prepared. If the [Najibullah] regime collapses ... there should be at least some security."



Abdul Haq

At one point during the interview, Haq—who describes himself as neither a fundamentalist nor a moderate but as a fervent nationalist—was asked if he could live in an Afghanistan dominated by fundamentalist leaders such as Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, who called a press conference Saturday to spend an hour reprimanding the foreign press for allegedly misreporting Friday's *shoora* and demanding, "You must correct your mistakes."

"We're really tired of being told how to live, what to wear, where to go, what to eat," he said. "I don't think this will last."

2/13 - NYT - The UN suspended airlifts to Kabul because airlines refused to make the trip.

2/15 - NYT - "Our jihad is not over," said Moh'd Eshaq, a Jamiat official. "Tomorrow the Soviet occupation ends. It is a very, very big victory, but it doesn't coincide with the liberation of Afghanistan."

- A Soviet newspaper said some Afghan Army units had begun looting strongholds left in their control & then abandoning them to the guerrillas. The Soviets say that 30,000 guerrillas are massed around Kabul & 15,000 around Jalalabad. The last Soviet troops in Kabul flew home last night.
- "Night letters" are appearing in Kabul advising residents to stay indoors & avoid the airport area.

2/16 - NYT - Lt. Gen. Boris Gromov walked across the Friendship Bridge to Termez yesterday at 11:55 a.m. local time.

"There is not a single Soviet soldier or officer left behind me," General Gromov told a Soviet television reporter waiting on the bridge. "Our nine-year stay ends with this." (See p. 27.)

- An estimated 250 Soviet civilians may still be at the Soviet Embassy in Kabul. Diego Cordovez said that fewer than 10 Soviet military advisers "will" remain in Afghanistan,

principally as Embassy guards. - Afghan News Agency Director Q.R. Saeed said the Soviet withdrawal was more important to the West than to the Afghans. "We were fighting before the Russians came," Mr. Saeed said. "We will still be fighting after they leave. We will fight until the puppets fall. Then you will see the celebration."

- Sec'y of State Baker said he thought it "would be appropriate now for us to call on the Soviets to assist in the reconstruction of Afghanistan." The US has pledged \$18.7m to the UN Emergency Trust Fund. The Bush Adm. is exploring the feasibility of channelling more than \$100m in military aid for the mujahideen for peaceful purposes in Afghanistan: **money from a milit**

"Because of budget constraints, reprogramming some of this money would let us rob Peter to pay Paul," an Administration official said.

But Administration officials and Congressional staff members acknowledge that legal and bureaucratic obstacles might preclude such a reprogramming of aid, which would basically take

2/16 - LAT - A UN report on the devastation in Afghanistan: Kunar province - "Major war damage."

Herat province—800 of 1,200 villages "severely damaged or totally destroyed"; 80% of all trees "cut down for security reasons"; 1,123 human limbs amputated in the past five years—"the great majority of the victims children below 15 years"—because of anti-schoolteachers killed; 400 primary schoolteachers killed; "the majority of schools destroyed"; agricultural production "down more than 50% from prewar levels"; "the majority of population has faced an appalling condition, many of them in the pine forests 'stripped bare'; education and health facilities 'non-existent'; 'physical infrastructure badly run down or destroyed'."

2/17 - LAT - Recent fighting near Jalalabad has forced over 30,000 new refugees to flee into Pakistan during the past 3 months (see p.26).

- NYT - The Afghan Nat'l Liberation Front (Mojaddedi) returned to the shura after a 2-day boycott over Iranian-based Afghans' participation in the new gov't.

- 2/18 - NYT - Gorbachev has sent Bush a letter urging that they work together to arrange a cease-fire in Afghanistan & foster conditions for a broad-based coalition gov't. The Soviets have also called for a joint cutoff in arms supplies. Bush said a cutoff now "would not be fair." The Kremlin has also approached other countries & int'l organizations including the OIC.

2/19 - NYT - The Kabul Gov't declared a nation-wide state of emergency (see 2/21).

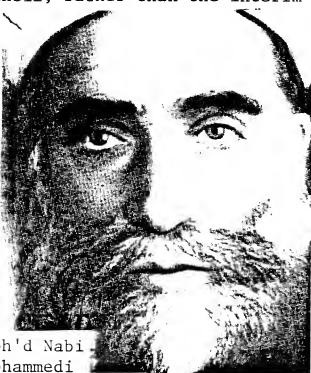
Guerrilla leaders chose Moh'd Nabi Mohammedi to be the president of an interim gov't. Ahmad Shah was chosen acting prime min. If the interim gov't is approved, elections will be held in Afghanistan within 6 months for a council to appoint a permanent head of state. The Supreme Council, rather than the interim gov't will remain the ultimate authority for the Alliance. Mr. Mohammedi will head the Council for 8 months. Mojahed (See program 2/24/1)

money from a military aid program run by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon and channel it into "humanitarian" aid.

"It would be extraordinarily difficult to reprogram funds already obligated to a covert program," said a Congressional staff member familiar with intelligence matters. "Just because the Administration wants to do this doesn't mean it can be done."



Estuaries 16: 1099



Moh'd Nabi  
Mohammedi

dedi stepped down as Alliance head.

2/20 - NYT - The US said it would probably recognize the interim gov't if it established firm control of substantial territory in Afghanistan (not necessarily Kabul), demonstrated a capacity for civil administration & showed an ability to fulfill its int'l obligations. The US will not sever diplomatic relations with the present Afghan Gov't until the US is ready to recognize a new gov't in Afghanistan.

2/21 - NYT - ROA Prime Min. Sharq resigned for "medical reasons." Najibullah took control of a 20-member military council which will rule during the state of emergency. Over the weekend, Najibullah replaced 7 non-party-member ministers with PDPA CC members.

A State Department official said that with the resignation of Mr. Sharq, the Afghan Government seemed to be "ending the charade of trying to convince everybody that it has friendly intentions toward the resistance."

2/22 - NYT - PDPA member Sultan Ali

Kishtmand was appointed Chairman of the Executive Committee of the ROA Council of Ministers, in effect the prime min., a job he held for 9 years until last May. Najibullah will be Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

- In Islamabad, the mujahideen set up

a committee, **Sultan Ali Keshtman** d composed of 2 members from each faction, to draw up a list of ministers for the provisional gov't. Some think this means that the nomination of Ahmad Shah as prime minister may no longer be assured.

Mr. Shah is considered a representative of the rebels' fundamentalist wing. Two moderate parties refused to nominate Cabinet candidates to protest what was called an attempt by fundamentalists to force through a cabinet in their own image.

(See 2/24)



Ahmad Shah

2/23 - NYT - The slate of ministers proposed by the committee (see 2/22) ranges from 7 to 35. They have talked of rotatating the prime min.'s job. "Everything is changeable," said a spokesman.

2/24 - NYT - Mojadedi chosen chief:

The more than 400 delegates to a special consultative council chose Sibgatullah Mojadedi as acting president and chief of state and Abdul Rasul Sayaf as acting president of an interim government. Five other rebel leaders were assigned ministerial portfolios.

The path for the election of an interim government was paved when the delegates this morning agreed to a voting procedure. Each of the more than 400 delegates was given a sheet of paper bearing the names and photographs of the seven Pakistan-based rebel groups and told to circle their favored two.

The leader with the most votes was made the president and head of state, the runner-up was named prime minister, and the other five, based on their vote totals, were assigned prearranged groups of ministries.

Despite the apparent even-handedness of the selection process, there may be protests at the election result from various Afghan constituencies over the next few days.

In today's vote, Mr. Mojadedi becomes president and his moderate party will also take the Ministry of Health. Mr. Sayaf is prime minister and his fundamentalist group will handle the Ministry of Communication. A moderate, Mohammed Nabi Mohammedi, placed third, making him head of the Supreme Court and his group in charge of the Ministries of Finance and Education.

The fundamentalist Gulbuddin Hekmatyar placed fourth, allowing him to divy up the three Ministries of Defense, Rabbani, came in sixth, giving his party responsibility for the Ministries of Science and Agriculture. Another fundamentalist, Yunis Khalis, came in fifth and gained responsibility for the Interior and Security Ministries, as well as the Ministry for the hajj, the annual migration by Muslims to Mecca. The fundamentalist, Burhanuddin

Rabbani, came in sixth, giving his party responsibility for the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Justice and Borders. And a moderate, Ahmad Gailani, ranked seven in the voting, giving his group the three Ministries of Reconstruction, Religious Guidance and Natural Resources.

2/25 - NYT - Mojadedi announced the start of "the free Muslim state of Afghanistan" & called on "our brothers still working with the puppet regime to join our ranks." He offered a general amnesty to "those whose hands are not stained with the blood of our brothers." He said the gov't would be operating inside Afghanistan in a month. Some ministries were rearranged: Mohammedi will have defense & 2 others; Hekmatyar will get foreign affairs, justice & border. The US is not yet prepared to recognize the new gov't (see 2/20). Still uncertain, however, is how widespread will be the backing among various Afghan constituencies for the government-in-exile. Several key groups, including rebels based in Iran, five million refugees and some key military commanders, had little or no representation at the special council here.



Prof. Mojadedi



Sayaf

# The imminent collapse of a demoralised Kabul

RICHARD EVANS

WESTERN medical workers who have returned from a 700-mile trek across Afghanistan tell a bleak story of disease, malnutrition, wrecked agriculture and in-fighting among Mujahideen groups. They say few refugees have returned, and that living conditions improve dramatically few more are likely to.

"The country's economic infrastructure has been wrecked," said Jeff Paulsen, a medical monitor for the Swedish Committee on Afghanistan, who led the fact-finding mission across six provinces. "Ninety per cent of agriculture has been destroyed, canals have been bombed, animals shot. The roads are in ruin and clean water just about nonexistent."

Mr. Paulsen was accompanied by Rudy Seyneave, a Belgian medical worker, and Afghan guides on a 78-day trek which visited 85 foreign-supported clinics and hospitals, conducting the most extensive survey of medical and health conditions in wartime Afghanistan. "Conditions in much of Afghanistan are so terrible it is unrealistic to expect the refugees to return," Mr. Seyneave said.

One threat is mines. The hills and valleys are littered with them. Many of the 5 million refugees who fled from the country tell all of them, especially the 200,000 butterfly-shaped plastic mines dropped from the air which killed and maimed many women and children. The Mujahideen

estimate 10 to 30 million mines have been scattered over Afghanistan, making every field, pathway and road a potential hazard. Even if the war miraculously ended with the Russians withdrawn, many more Afghans would die or be maimed for a long time to come.

The Russians have failed to produce maps and documents of

has made moves to tackle the problem, and Mujahideen commanders are keen that their guerrillas are given expert advice on mine-clearing techniques.

Around Kabul fighting continues day and night — the Mujahideen firing into the city from the mountains and the Soviet and government forces returning fire



in the minefields, which they were required to do under the Geneva accords. They probably have no idea where most of the mines are, having lobbed them at random from aircraft. The United Nations

with artillery and mortar shells. Less than 10 miles west of the capital is the small town of Paghman which the Mujahideen say they "liberated" in October. It was as much a "strategic

withdrawal" by the Russians after many Afghan soldiers switched sides. Although considered a great triumph, the victory was hollow. Most mornings Soviet MiG-27s bomb the town mercilessly. Heavy artillery from government posts round Kabul sends shells whistling over the valley, pounding what is left of Paghman's buildings and houses. Paghman has been reduced to rubble. The hub of the Mujahideen victory is for whom they fought have fled to the surrounding villages. Twenty miles south-west of Kabul, over two mountain ranges, lies Maidanshahr where the Mujahideen are besieging the town and surrounding government posts. Casualties are heavy.

In nearby Abramshah, chaos rules. Stretcher-bearers and ambulances riddled with bullet holes fight their way through alleys crowded with vehicles, animals and Mujahideen. Men return to the action and the few remaining civilians are hurriedly leaving, carrying what possessions they can. Mujahideen operations rules. Maidanshahr are controlled by Gulbadin Hekmatyar from his post two hours' walk into the hills from Maidanshahr. A doctor before the war, he looks tired with deep lines around his eyes.

A visit to the northern Panjshir Valley, before the war a Sangria-La of dense forests and terraced fields, reveals desolation and the destruction of millions of trees. A

trip from Kabul and the southern city of Kandahar was like "travelling on the moon, with crater after crater as far as you can see" Mr. Paulsen said.

Armed tribal chieftains commonly demand money or property when units of rival commanders travel through their territories. Poor Shia tribes living in central Afghanistan resent their relatively prosperous Sunni neighbours to the east and clashes are common. Stories of kidnapping and murder abound.

"All you hear from party leaders in Peshawar is about harmony and brotherhood, but inside Afghanistan the story is very different," Mr. Paulsen said.

"Local commanders and amirs are fighting for power and it is not about to end just because the Russians are leaving."

Such conflicts we become common. In Kabul, Mujahideen commanders and political leaders sense the imminent collapse of a demoralised Kabul regime. Increased in-fighting would make the task of rebuilding post-war Afghanistan even more difficult. Aid workers estimate it will take 5 to 10 years before the country can return to its pre-war state as a decade ago. "Until there is a consensus among the powers (in Afghanistan), centralisation and co-ordination of services including health care will be futile," Mr. Paulsen said in a report to be submitted to thirteen aid agencies working in Afghanistan. Today that consensus appears as far away as ever. — The Independent

## Khamenei urges Afghans to be vigilant of U.S. 'plots'

NICOSIA, Jan. 15. The Afghan people should remain vigilant and beware U.S. "plots" and a planned Soviet withdrawal from their country, Iranian President Ali Khamenei said in Teheran on Sunday to Pakistan and Iranian-based Afghan factions meeting there.

Mr. Khamenei also urged Mujahideen to close ranks and resume what he described as "useful" dialogue with the Soviet Union, the Iranian news agency IRNA reported.

The Afghan conference was being attended by the influential seven-party resistance alliance based in Peshawar, heads of the eight-group coalition of Afghan Mujahideen based in Iran, as well as experts from France, Britain, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Pakistan and Afghanistan, said IRNA.

The conferees were expected to state a statement in talks with the Soviet Union, which is due to withdraw all its remaining troops from Afghanistan in February.

Mr. Khamenei charged that the United States was planning to take

advantage of the bloodshed in Afghanistan "to secure a foothold in the country's north." The Afghan Mujahideen through their heroic resistance and struggle have reduced the occupying forces to inaction yet they should be wary of U.S. "plots," IRNA quoted Mr. Khamenei as saying in a message addressed to Sunday's meeting.

Therefore the Mujahideen must remain as vigilant as before... and not allow any foreign power to penetrate the country so that Afghanistan can start the new era with its Islamic identity and non-aligned character" the presidential message added. — AFP 1/6

## Mujahid commander freed in exchange of Afghan major

From Our Peshawar Bureau FEB. 7: Mujahid commander of Hizb-i-Islami (Hikmatyar) was freed by Kabul regime in exchange for an Afghan army major about two months back.

Commander Rehmatullah who

## Soviet-Kabul forces use Napalm against Mujahideen

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8: The United States charged on Tuesday that Afghan and Soviet forces had used a Napalm-like substance against U.S.-backed Mujahideen in 1984 and said the administration may have been laid in Afghanistan threatening civilians.

In its annual report on human rights worldwide, the State Department said basic human rights in war-torn Afghanistan would not improve until the withdrawal of Soviet troops, now under way, was completed.

The report said Soviet forces and their allies in the Afghan Government had launched numerous attacks against civilian targets, resulting in massive destruction of homes, entire villages, cropland and infrastructure, and injuries to uncaptured civilians.

Some were reprisals against Mujahideen sympathisers and "there were also civilians casualties resulting from the deployment of a Napalm-like substance against the resistance," the report said. It gave no other details.

2/9

said at a Press conference in Peshawar this afternoon he was in jail for eight years and was released in 1980. He last met an ex-commander Afghan army major, Mohammad Ibrahim.

Commander Rehmatullah, who belongs to Parwan province, said he was arrested on Aug. 1, 1980 along with others and sentenced to 16 years imprisonment on charge of spying, explosions and guerrilla activities in Afghanistan.

His three associates Haji Mohammad Nawab, Syed Ibrahim and Dr. Ayub were hanged to death.

He said the strength of prisoners

Pata Charhi jail was about

4,000 and most of them were as

sociated with the Hizb-i-Islami.

2/8

# Afghan relief programme

An apparently generous Soviet offer to give major support to the billion-dollar United Nations relief and rehabilitation programme for Afghanistan has created some suspicion that the Soviet plan to control the programme.

But Soviet officials have quashed such doubts. In an interview with Panos they re-affirmed that the aid is for "humanitarian purposes" and will be left under the UN's "overwhelming control".

The UN programme is to assist repatriation and resettlement of the 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, 2.4 million in Iran, and 2.5 million displaced persons in Afghanistan.

More than one in three of Afghanistan's 20 million people have been displaced since the Soviet entry into the country in December 1979. Since then there has been little international development aid, 40% of the essential ancient irrigation system has been destroyed, and the country is littered with 15 million hidden mines and other anti-personnel weapons.

The work to be done in minesweeping, repair, the re-establishment of farming, health systems, education and self-confidence is awesome. So the Soviet Union's offer of 400 million-US\$ (US\$100 million aid and kind) was widely welcomed.

Aleksandr Bel'gov, Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations, speaking at the 12 October pledging conference of the UN Co-ordinator for relief to Afghanistan, offered a package of consumer goods and other aid. This makes up two-thirds of the nearly US\$900 million so far pledged to the planned U.S.\$2 billion, 18 month UN programme.

The next highest offer from another country is from Japan, one-tenth the Soviet pledge.

The United States has pledged US \$17 million.

The Soviets have offered:

• Consumer goods, including

households, fabrics, clothes, foot-

wear, medical supplies, and school

appliances.

• Equipment and materials for construction projects under the UN sponsored programmes".

• "Direct deliveries" of consumer goods from republics, regions and cities in the USSR to provinces and cities in Afghanistan.

• Transport subsidies to cover transport costs of international aid across Soviet territory.

But questions are soon raised about the intentions and exact timing of the Soviet offer, wording which is now being clarified in a series of detailed meetings between UN officials and Soviet delegates.

The UN co-ordinator—Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan—is very sure that 80% of the aid pledged by countries other than the USSR is "earmarked" for specific "markets", leaving him with relatively little room to develop his own aid policies for maximum effect. If two-thirds of his budget were under strong Soviet in-

fluence, his room for manoeuvre would be further reduced.

Bel'gov said clearly in his announcement that the aid is "to contribute to the UN humanitarian economic assistance programmes... through the U.N. co-ordinator", and is "intended for all provinces".

But sceptics—senior aid officials speaking privately—still fear that, in practice, much of this support will be under direct Soviet control, and that the Soviets plan to use aid as a means of continuing influence over Afghanistan.

However, a spokesman for the Soviet delegation to the UN, this week told Panos that the offer "is made on purely humanitarian grounds, not to support one side or the other".

According to the Soviet spokesman, the UN co-ordinator "would have overwhelming control" of the programme.

"It would be up to the co-ordinator to decide where to build or develop a programme," he said, adding nevertheless that there would have to be "co-operation" with the Kabul government. Soviet advisers in Afghanistan could offer much assistance, he said, having had experience in development projects in the country since 1921.

Soviet bilateral aid to Afghanistan in 1988 was some \$572 million in 1988—would continue, the spokesman said.

The future of the billion-dollar UN relief and rehabilitation programme for the 10 million Afghan refugees depends largely on the refugees themselves, a spokesman for the programme's co-ordinator, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, said in Geneva.

Its application will, in the main, have to wait for the refugees to return to their homes, roads, irrigation channels and agriculture, and helping to clean up to five million mines.

But for the moment with the hard Afghan winter approaching, the refugees are opting to stay where they are.

Some of the three million internally displaced carried around Kabul are said to be returning to their lands—partly because of continuing rocket attacks on the city. But the UN co-ordinator so far has no office or officials in Kabul and has been unable to give aid or advice—or even count—the returnees. Moreover UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar is currently pulling U.N. staff out of Kabul because of the timing.

While the UN co-ordinator does have help, in the refugee centres outside Afghanistan, work is beginning on training those going home so that they can contribute to the rebuilding effort.

Meanwhile, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which is to manage the reconstruction with the UN co-ordinator, has begun a package of priority programmes for the eastern provinces of Afghanistan. It has started work in cross-bord-

er areas and is using non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to improve crop production, veterinary services, rural public works, the provision of tractors and their maintenance, and training.

One UN-supported NGO project concerns the production of artificial limbs and has 150 of 300 people classed as severely "affected". According to the co-ordinator, ten times more people could be classified as disabled and in need of health services and rehabilitation.

It may not be before the Spring of 1989, in six months time, when the refugees are expected to begin returning en masse, that the complete reconstruction plan will get into top gear.

The baseline from which it will work is low. Only one in seven Afghans can read, one of the lowest literacy levels in the world. Before 1973, when the monarchy was abolished, 85% of the population was rural and mainly engaged in agriculture.

With the social changes of the last decade, there is no guarantee that, even if sufficient smallholdings are created under an equitable land reform, peasants will opt to return to their old agricultural occupations.

However, agriculture remains the backbone of the country, with its mainstay crops of wheat, maize, rice, barley, seed cotton, sugarcane, sugar beets, sesame seeds, melons and raisins. Together with sheep, goats, cattle, buffaloes and camels agriculture made up more than 60% of the gross national product.

This is no longer the case and the UN programme envisages spending US \$226 million in the first months for agriculture alone. Three-quarters of this would go towards supplying small irrigation, farm tools and draught animals. The remainder is intended for the agricultural infrastructure, with emphasis on providing credit, veterinary and crop extension services, and the establishment of tree nurseries, both for fruit and fuelwood.

Much of the traditional irrigation system, which led 70% of Afghan farms, no longer functions. Some 40% of the underground water channels—a technology of long, shallow tunnels carrying water from mountain streams to the plains—known as "terras" in Afghanistan and "tundis" throughout the Islamic world—have failed through neglect and military destruction, resulting in marked reduction in yields and even the abandonment of land on which irrigation is no longer possible.

Nearly US \$160 million will be needed over five years to re-establish this vital resource.

Another priority is to cope with the four to five million mines which have been planted and distributed throughout Afghanistan, said to be of approximately 28 different types and manufactured in countries such as the Soviet Union, USA, U.K., China and Italy. Not all are massive heavy-duty mines and thousands

of children have been mutilated by anti-personnel mines which have been manufactured in the shape of toys, radios, butterflies and tablets of chocolate.

The UN co-ordinator plans to convene a team of multi-national specialists to advise on the removal of the mines, and to train teams of Afghans in the use of the specialised equipment needed for the work. Side by side, an education campaign would be undertaken, and probably broadcast by radio, to warn people particularly children—of the dangers.

The success of these programmes depends on peace. As Prince Sadruddin summed up in a recent report, "This is primarily a task for the Afghan people themselves but they need international support. The return of peace to Afghanistan requires the implementation of major relief and rehabilitation projects capable of helping to revive the nation's economy and to ensure confidence in its future."

The Afghans are proud, hard-working and industrious people who value self-reliance and enterprise. What is needed is a grassroots, people-centred effort, the task at hand is to help them to help themselves, and not to encourage a new dependency on international aid. —Panos

January 9, 1989

## Plan for Afghan repatriation

PESHAWAR, Feb. 7: Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, U.N. Co-ordinator for U.N. Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programme, has said that a comprehensive plan was under way for providing assistance to the Afghan in a phased way which would include programmes of emergency relief for returning Afghan refugees, repatriation, rehabilitation and the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Addressing representatives of a foreign voluntary organisation AC-BAR in Peshawar this morning, he said that under the first phase a programme relating to the provision of food stuff and essential commodities would be started. In this respect he said that the matter relating to the procurement, logistic and delivery of relief items had been discussed at different levels. He said that the second phase convoys of Afghan refugees would be organised and storage and distribution of relief goods would be ensured in Afghanistan for reconstructed and rehabilitated Afghans.

He said that the reconstruction programme would be carried out in collaboration with Afghan authorities and the world community would fix priorities for the construction of road and buildings. Mr Aga Khan expressed the hope that the U.N. agency would be able to evolve an appropriate programme ensuring provision of humanitarian assistance to the people of Afghanistan in every nook and corner of the country, with a view to mitigating their sufferings.

Earlier, Prince Aga Khan visited a hospital and Afghan Media Resource Centre talking to the representative of Afghan Media Resource Centre, he said that the

centre would give an excellent coverage to the activities of the U.N. agencies aimed at providing assistance to Afghan people and reconstruction of Afghanistan. —APP

February 8, 1989



# Pakistan holding talks with Mujahideen

By Ghani Jafar

Our Diplomatic Correspondent

In reply to a question about the veracity of recent reports in the Western media to the effect that Pakistan authorities were exercising pressure on the Afghan Mujahideen to accommodate a number of persons associated with the current Kabul regime in the future set-up in Afghanistan, a spokesman of the Foreign Office stated in Islamabad on Monday that the Government of Pakistan had been holding "discussions" with the Mujahideen.

The spokesman maintained his position in his response to a number of related questions asked at the Press briefing. His reaction did not amount to an outright denial of the news stories and can, in fact, be seen as an implicit acknowledgement of the substance of the reports.

His attention was drawn to a report in the "Time" magazine which stated that Pakistan was applying intense pressure on the Peshawar-based alliance of the Afghan Mujahideen for it to include persons acceptable to the Soviet Union in the proposed government structure in Afghanistan. The spokesman was also asked to comment on several articles published earlier this month in a Western newspaper highlighting the same aspect.

He said that Pakistan had never denied the fact that it had remained "in touch" with the Afghan Mujahideen. He added that the news item was partly true and hoped for a positive outcome of the negotiations at evolving a political settlement.

When asked if the Government

of Pakistan would deny that it had used pressure, both material and moral to bring the Mujahideen round to accepting PDPA representation, the spokesman stated that Islamabad had been holding discussions with the IUMA leadership.

In reply to a question regarding the role being played by Pakistan to help facilitate the achievement of a consensus on the future set-up in Afghanistan, the spokesman said that the mechanics would not be of interest to the Press, and the outcome alone could be stated.

The spokesman also felt no need for public knowledge the approach to be followed in discussions on Afghanistan with the Iranian and Soviet Foreign Ministers when they come to Islamabad in the current week.

A newsman pointed out that such a used would be justified in view of the fact that Pakistan now had a more open system of governance.

In response to other questions, the spokesman gave details of the well-known position of the Government of Pakistan on the future structure in Afghanistan.

He said that Islamabad wanted the contemplated consultative group to be as broad-based as possible. The Afghan Mujahideen, he said, were holding consultations on the future structure in Afghanistan.

The spokesman said that representatives of the Soviet Union had expressed any desire for Pakistan to arrange a meeting between the two sides during Mr. Shevardnadze's stay in Islamabad. He said that the Soviet Foreign Minister reached Islamabad in the evening of Feb. 4, and would leave here the following day.

He pointed out that the Mujahideen had, at the same time, invited to the meeting of certain individuals ("good Muslims") in the consultative group.

When asked about the Govern-

ment of Pakistan's response to this impasse which could have an adverse impact on Pakistan's security, the spokesman reiterated the "broad principles" on which Islamabad had continued to base its Afghan policy.

He said that Pakistan believed in non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and wanted the Afghan people to decide the future arrangement for themselves.

Pakistan, he said, had come to provide humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees, and hoped that conditions would soon be created to enable them to return to their homeland in safety and honour.

The spokesman was asked as to how Pakistan was helping in the creation of those conditions. He said that the initial settlement of Afghanistan had been arrived at as a result of discussions which still continued and, hopefully, would help overcome the difficulties being faced currently.

He said that Islamabad had not been informed about the precise subjects which the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, would like to discuss with the Government of Pakistan during his forthcoming visit. But he said, bilateral relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union, and the Afghanistan situation were likely to come up for discussion.

The spokesman said that neither the Soviet Union nor the Afghan Mujahideen had expressed any desire for Pakistan to arrange a meeting between the two sides during Mr. Shevardnadze's stay in Islamabad. He said that the Soviet Foreign Minister reached Islamabad in the evening of Feb. 4, and would leave here the following day.

January 31

## Anti-Shura meeting in Peshawar flops

From Our Peshawar Bureau

FEVERARY 8: Peshawar, a city today pre-occupied in the public meeting when slogan-chanting Afghan refugees clashed near Nishat Mills premises in the outskirts of Peshawar.

More than two dozen people in the audiences are reported to have received cuts, bruises and injuries. Afghan Media Resource Centre said that a clash injuring 25 people erupted at Nishat Mills in Peshawar between supporters and opponents of Friday's Afghanistan Mujahideen Shura.

Brandishing sticks larger than cricket bats, the crowds battered each other after being provoked by speakers at a rally organised by anti-Shura elements.

The consultative Shura, sponsored by the Seven-Party Islamic United Afghanistan Mujahideen, will meet on Saturday in Rawalpindi to vote on the structure of the interim Government.

Among the injured at the event, attended by more than 5,000 peo-

ple, were several reporters who were trapped at the front of the stage when protesters surged forward to overturn it. Three people are reportedly in critical condition, the AMRC said.

Tension first flared when the former Afghan Government administrator Mr. Azzulaz Wasfi, said "now as the Soviets withdraw, 'whom shall we fight' the crowd chanted, 'against the Khalq and the Parchamites'.

Mr. Wasfi, who served the Cabinet of King Zahir Shah and President Mohammad Daud, said Afghans should not start another war inside the country once the Soviets complete their withdrawal.

Stirred by his comments, members of the crowd moved toward the stage and exchanged blows between the two parties to the place.

Angry protesters overturned the stage and dismantled loudspeakers.

February 9, 1989

TOKHAM (Afghanistan), Feb 8: "We are the Afghans," said a grinning Mujahideen commander at the border checkpoint guarded by heavily armed men in camouflage battle jackets.

Scores of Mujahideen wearing everything from tribal clothing to steel helmets captured from the Soviets, were busy around the Tokham checkpoint at the Afghan end of the famous Khyber Pass. "Whom shall we fight" the crowd chanted, "against the Khalq and the Parchamites".

A roadside signpost pointed the way to the Afghan capital of Kabul, 224 kilometres to the west.

Tokham changed hands several times before the Mujahideen finally seized control in January as government troops pulled out of the area.

"There was much fighting, but now that place is ours", Mohamad said.

Commanders said they were trying to set up a rudimentary administration at Tokham to carry out basic government tasks in an area they had seized from Afghanistan's beleaguered communist authorities.

The Mujahideen were busy orga-

nising shelters and offices for the government administration building, immigration building and customs police and army posts.

"This place is now under Islamic government", said Nabib Mohammad, one of the commanders

## 46 Afghan children arrive in W. Germany for treatment

FRANKFURT, Feb. 7: As Soviet troops hurry to complete their withdrawal from Afghanistan, a humanitarian group is bringing dozens of Afghan children maimed by the war to West Germany for medical treatment.

"Freidens Orf Oberhausen" (peace village Oberhausen), an independent welfare group, has flown 46 Afghan children to West German hospitals since shortly before Christmas.

"Each of these children has a touching story to tell. They are very sad, tearful stories, each one a different description of their sad fate", Friedens Orf Oberhausen chief Roland Gegenfurth told the Association Press on Monday.

"Some lost an arm or a leg in explosions", Gegenfurth said in a telephone interview from his office in Oberhausen, near Dusseldorf.

Gegenfurth and his aides brought 15 maimed children from Afghanistan to West Germany just before Christmas. Another group of 31 children was flown to Frankfurt from Kabul last Thursday.

They were then taken to different hospitals outside Frankfurt by West German army helicopters.

Gegenfurth said his organisation, funded by private donations, is bringing the children to West Germany for medical treatment of their wounds. The children will also receive artificial limbs during their stay.

Gegenfurth, 37, described the terrifying war experience of 12-year-old Abdul Momin, one of the 31 children flown to Frankfurt on Thursday.

"He was travelling with his family to Kabul from the provinces

2/8

## Mujahideen set up offices at Torkham

nailed over holes in the immigration office.

Mujahideen had scrawled their names on the captured buildings as if signing autographs of their successful fight to win control of Tokham.

The charred remains of government documents burned by the Mujahideen lay scattered the roadside. Books, documents and newspapers written in Russian were scattered among the members—a remnant of the Soviet troops that backed the communist government for nine years of the civil war.

The seven main Mujahideen groups held different buildings in the administration complex. The groups took turns performing guard duty, leaders said. The leaders said that many of them illiterate, had little idea of the routine of carrying out government and bureaucratic chores. But they expressed confidence the Mujahideen would learn in time. . . .

Commander Abdul Zaher said the Mujahideen had to defeat the communist government before starting to rebuild the war-tattered nation and its government administration.

It was too early to talk about details. He said: "About the future, we saw nothing"—APA

February 9, 1989

# Can Shura promise peace?

By AN ANALYST

The meeting of the Afghan Consultative Committee (Shura) for creating an interim government in Afghanistan, which begins in Islamabad on Friday, presents a dilemma for Pakistan, whose sole interest in the matter is the establishment of such a broad-based regime in Kabul as would guarantee peace and facilitate the refugees' return home. Islamabad hopes that the Consultative Committee will be able to resist factional and sectarian pressures and evolve a formula to avoid further bloodshed in Afghanistan. But there are doubts.

A major source of anxiety for Pakistani officials is dealing with the Afghan problem is the knowledge that despite appearances of unity, the components of the Afghan Resistance remain hostile to each other. There are differences within the 7-party Alliance between the hard-liners, led by Mr. Gulbadin Hikmatyar, and the moderates, led by Mr. Gilani. The latter has for the time being accepted Mr. Hikmatyar's commitment to organize a free general election in Afghanistan as soon as circumstances permit, but suspicions that each side is trying to gain a dominating role in the Shura persist. These suspicions were reinforced by reports appearing in a section of the Arab Press that one of Mr. Hikmatyar's representatives had made contacts with elements outside the IJAM, including a few associated with the PDPA, on a tour of some Arab countries. Several groups of Afghan Mujahideen have also protested against their exclusion from preparations for the Consultative Committee meeting. Three such groups outside issued a statement expressing lack of confidence in the 7-party Alliance of Peshawar on Tuesday last.

Then there are moderates, mostly belonging to the broad-based Afghan emigre groups, that are extremely unhappy at the way the fundamentalist faction has elbowed them out of negotiations. Some of these elements maintain that they have to assert their due, now that the process of forming an interim government has entered its penultimate stage. In case they do so, the Shura meeting may neither be brief nor free from a dangerous trial of strength. These elements are likely to press for a role for ex-king Zahir Shah and his confidants in the peace-making process.

At the same time, differences between the commanders fighting inside Afghanistan and the political leaders of Resistance based in Pakistan have not wholly been resolved. The commanders insist on getting a lion's share in the interim regime as a just reward for their struggle which they rate higher than the contribution made by their

spokesmen away from the battlefield. The commanders are also opposed to the IJAM leaders' plan to quickly capture Kabul and other cities in Afghanistan regardless of the casualties to the civilian population.

Besides, it is no secret that some of the leading commanders within Afghanistan do not see eye to eye with one another. For example, commander Massud Shah, operating in the northern parts of the country, and commander Abdul Haq, moving towards Kabul from the south, are believed to be rivals for supremacy even though a temporary understanding between them may have been secured by the friends of both sides.

No keen observer of the scene can, in this situation, ignore the danger of serious strife between various Afghan factions once the Soviet troops' withdrawal is completed next week. While most observers agree that the Mujahideen regime may not be able to withstand the Mujahideen's pressure for an appreciable length of time, they have detected a new sign of division among PDPA supporters. Reports that the Najib government has distributed arms to civilians confirms the view that the PDPA's sympathizers may prefer a last-ditch fight to surrender because the Mujahideen have not spared the Afghan soldiers or their associates who had agreed to surrender. The fate of the Afghan soldiers who surrendered at Torkham is cited as an instance.

Pakistan has reason to feel concern at the prospect of the civil war continuing in Afghanistan even after the Soviet withdrawal. It believes that the guns resisting the Mujahideen forces operating from Pakistan side may hold this country responsible for their loss of life and property. The goodwill that the Afghan people have had for Pakistan may be fractured.

The crux of the problem is that the fundamentalist elements in the Afghan Resistance, relying exclusively on the massive fire-power at their disposal, do not seem to realize the complications they are creating for Pakistan by denying the U.N. proposal for a genuinely broad-based interim government. The installation of a narrow-based fundamentalist regime in Kabul could not only pose a threat to Pakistan's security but also affect the process of Islamic's understanding with India and the Soviet Union. It is also known that neither the United States nor the European supporters of the Mujahideen's cause are feeling comfortable at the idea of Afghanistan being ruled by a fundamentalist coalition, which by definition could guarantee neither a stable democracy nor the much needed social change.

Finally, Pakistan faces the dilemma that while it was easy to tell Mr. Shevardnadze that it was unrealistic to press for PDPA's inclusion in a broad-based government, it is not so easy to

make the IJAM and their powerful supporters amenable to their cause, the least they are expected to do is to abandon the factional jockeying for power and accommodate all the various refugee leaders, who should have held their consultations inside Afghanistan, will start quitting the Pakistani territory soon after February 15.

If the Afghan leaders meeting now in Islamabad have any regard for that trials Pakistan have faced

as a result of its commitment to their cause, the least they are expected to do is to abandon the factional jockeying for power and accommodate all the various interests in the proposed Shura so that peace returns to their ravaged land and the promised general election can be held under aegis and impartiality.

2/8

## Afghanistan: what next?

THE Soviet Foreign Minister's visit to Islamabad has not apparently been an unqualified success from either side's point of view over the next steps in Afghanistan. This may be a disappointment, but given the circumstances it would have been unrealistic to expect a different outcome. There is hope in the fact that apart from the details, there was common ground on the fundamentals. Both the countries were agreed on the necessity of a political settlement; both thought that the military path could only lead to a worsening of the situation; both are resolved to encourage a broad-based government in Kabul. The shared objective is therefore that the guns in Afghanistan will be silenced as soon as possible after the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldier from the Afghan soil next Wednesday; and that it would be possible over this period for a government to be formed in Kabul that includes elements, or enjoys the confidence, of all the political sections of the country.

That outcome can, of course, be brought about only by the Afghans themselves. The omens of it are not wholly promising at the moment. The consultative body envisaged by the Pakistan-based seven parties in the IJAM, and which is due to meet next Friday, has engendered some controversy. The Iran-based parties are unhappy at the number of seats allotted to them. The commanders in the field in Afghanistan are also said to be not entirely satisfied with it. And there is

of course the insistence that the *shura* will have no part of that section of the Afghans which it has been at war with. This would seem to strike at the very definition of a broad-based government. What will emerge will predominantly be a one-sided body — consisting only of elements of the resistance. This predicates total vanquishing of the other side. That can only augur more war. The Afghan leaders here are confident of routing the opposition quickly. Their earlier calculations of rapid collapse of the Government in Kabul did not prove altogether correct. The defeat may again not occur as painlessly as they are now forecasting. The worsening of the situation that the Pakistan-Soviet joint statement fears in that eventuality may do the Soviets and the Afghans no good. It certainly will cause problems for Pakistan and for the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland.

Mr. Shevardnadze has also hinted at his country's treaty obligations to Afghanistan. That may be construed as a threat. It may also be taken as a reminder of a fact. It certainly presages no easy end to the Afghanistan tragedy if a military rather than a political path continues to be pursued. This week's discussions in Islamabad should have enabled both Pakistan and the Soviet Union to take a good measure of each other's bottom line and to consider over the next days if a review of their respective positions is possible in the light of it and in their own and the Afghans' best interests. The ruling consideration for all concerned

February 8, 1989

should now be that Afghanistan's agony is brought rapidly to an end.

# Agony of the Afghan tragedy

## THE MUSLIM Magazine

A CAPTURED and mentally-impaired Afghan soldier undergoing treatment in the ICRC Surgical Hospital in Peshawar was recently abducted and returned after several days in an unreported case which must be unique even in the context of the bloody 10-year Afghan war.

The case exemplifies the extent of the Afghan tragedy which struck almost every family in the beautiful "land of the rising sun." The agony of the Afghan people reads like a chapter of sorrows and grief. Afghans on both end of the spectrum have seen few joys in the past decade and sadly enough, right at the end of the long and dark war.

The soldier was taken prisoner when Afghan Mujahideen captured the important border post of Torkham on the Durand Line last November. He probably became a mental patient later needing hospitalisation in the Surgical Hospital run by international committee of the Red Cross in Peshawar. Unknown persons forcibly took him away one day while he was outside the Hospital in University Town. The Hospital authorities knew nothing about their patient's whereabouts for weeks and were pleasantly surprised to see him back alive and kicking. Reports say that the insane soldier was taken either by Afghan Mujahideen or Pakistani police for interrogation but could not be sure.

It is naive to think that only Mujahideen have committed excesses against their opponents. The PDPA regime has probably alienated more Afghans than it was able to win over since it swept into power through the Revolution in April 1979. Its magnetic reforms thrust upon an unwilling nation fuelled hostilities which have brought more sufferings and few joys to the hapless farmers, workers, workers and students who were intended to be the beneficiaries. Most of the 20 million people don't abandon their hearths and homes for nothing.

The joy exhibited by prisoners freed from Kabul's notorious Pul-i-Charkhi Prison one cold morning in October 1980, when this writer was correspondent with witness explained the feelings of men held captive on account of their political beliefs. The prison guards had a tough time trying to restrain the freed prisoners as they anxiously waited for the prison gates to be hung open. They literally ran to

freedom when the time came moving as fast as their weary legs could carry them.

No less poignant was the case of a government employee in

as the marooned refugees waded in the water trying to rescue their petty belongings and cursing their fate. Wailing women recalling their green villages and spacious houses brought tears to one's eyes after seeing them living in miserable conditions far away from their homes. The slums which

Kabul who said he was living all alone in the Afghan capital thinking about his wife and children who had migrated to Pakistan since the beginning of the war. The shinwari tribesmen from Nangarhar province who had got dressed in western clothing and wearing western dresses owing to his long stay in Kabul, said he could neither abandon his government service where he had put more than 20 years of his precious years nor he approved of the policies of the Afghan regime.

He said he was sure that he was not convinced by Dr Naib's national reconciliation programme because he felt no such thing was possible in the absence of the other party, i.e. the opposition.

His greying hair and weary eyes coupled with his physical condition look really miserable.

The cemeteries dotted the NWFP landscape with the distinctive coloured flags fluttering atop the graves reminded one of the many Afghans who died either fighting the Afghan or the occupying Soviets. The sight of these red-coupled flags in Peshawar and Islamabad appear to belong to the same class, even though they are different. The sight of an employee of the five-star Hotel Intercontinental (renamed Maimai Pahl) now run by the government was

have mushroomed in Kabul and Jalalabad also testify to the plight of a race that was known to have lived in full and respectable life even in its poverty. It is because of this realisation that the Afghan government, under General Gulai, urged her beloved to take her back to Afghanistan to escape the miseries of camp life seems so pertinent.

Glimpses from the life of the Afghans inside and outside the country are striking as well as revealing. The brick shopping in Kabul and other cities of the mainland, though it doesn't take one realise that the country was at war. Afghan VIP's moving around in huge Volkswagens in Afghanistan's cities and those riding costly Paedros in Peshawar and Islamabad appear to belong to the same class, even though they are different. The sight of an employee of the five-star Hotel Intercontinental (renamed Maimai Pahl) now run by the government was

equally depressing like the young, bearded Afghan who stood while carrying a heavy load of dried onion skins on his head to a certain province of Paktia to supply the Mujahideen in the hills. Both narrated how difficult it was to make both ends meet. One was in the service of the revolutionary PDPA regime, the other was active in the Juhad.

Refugees complaining of short supplies and difficulties in getting themselves registered is a common feature in every camp. Nampur and Baudhara are they tell you time and again that they can't get the registration cards unless they bribe the officials. On the other hands, commoners in PDPA-controlled cities cite examples of nepotism and "austrousness" to how such officials do not consider corruption or intend the corrupt, too because someone related to him occupied an important position in the ruling party. It is an endless saga of sorrow and grief which has afflicted the Afghans.

Perhaps it is their fate to suffer the hands of conquerors and adventurers, because Afghanistan has three major areas referred as the "graveyard" or greater glorified "graveyard" in Central Asia, Persia, Arab countries and in the Indian Subcontinent. Countries like Afghanistan falling on the path of invaders daily enjoy peace and the Afghans have learnt this truth in a hard way.

January 13, 1989

## Message From Kabul

Among the world leaders who sent messages of sympathy to President Bush was Nasirullah, the President of Afghanistan. The Afghan Embassy was so eager to get his message out that it took the unusual step of publishing it in a four-page press release.

"Your Excellency," the message began, "I should like first of all to present my sincere felicitations on your assumption to the office of the Presidency and express the hope that the United States shall usher higher stages of progress and prosperity under your wise leadership."

Mr. Nasirullah then asked Mr. Bush for support in promoting the peace plan for a transition to peace as the Soviet Union completes its withdrawal.

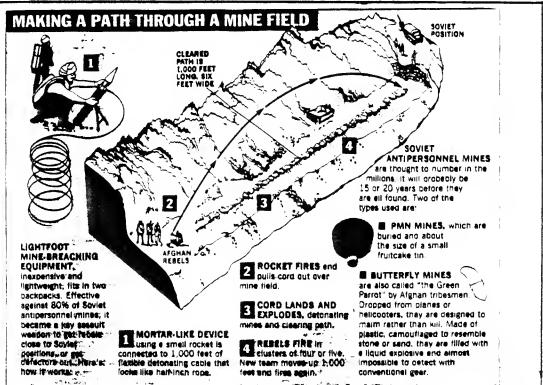
"It is my earnest hope that my appeal which reflects the aspirations of the vast silent majority of our people, who are fed up with an abhor the war, can find its way to your heart and touch your human feelings," Mr. Nasirullah wrote.

He added that he was "anxiously awaiting a confidential reaction from you which I wished Mr. Bush a very good health and many more successes."

Mr. Nasirullah will not get a positive response from the Bush Administration, officials said. Mr. Bush, like President Reagan, believes the regime will fall once the Soviets are out.

American officials in Kabul and Washington would not even accept the message when it was delivered by an Afghan diplomat. "We have no reaction to it," said one State Department official. "We just ignored it."

NYT 1/27



## From the Editor:

The Soviets have gone for the moment, but the great game continues. It's musical chairs in Peshawar & Kabul with both sides seemingly unaware that the music has not yet stopped.

Some Afghan noses are out of joint because their owners weren't invited to the shura, dubbed "shurwa" [soup] by some. The 12 invitations to Afghans in the US were delivered through the Military Attaché at the Pakistan Embassy in Washington. Other noses were disjoined during a brawl in Peshawar (see p. 17).

Because so much has been written during the past 2 months, we've had to list some articles under "Recent Publications" because we couldn't fit them in without asking you to trade your magnifying glasses for microscopes.

The Bakhtar Information Agency is coding its telexes BNA, so when you read those letters in this issue, keep in mind that you are reading "news" rather than information.

Occasional Paper #28, "Countering the Revolution: The Mujahideen Counterrevolution" by Allen E. Dorn will be sent to those who ordered it [last year] with this issue. If new subscribers or those who didn't order it last year would like a copy, just send us \$5 and we'll send it to you.

The deadline for the next issue is 4/15.

Nawroz greetings to all our Afghan readers with the hope that 1368 will be the year that leads to peace in Afghanistan.



## EVENTS

The annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) will be held at the Washington Hilton & Towers from March 17-19. The AAS is calling for panels &/or papers for the 1990 annual meeting which will be held at the Palmer House in Chicago from April 6-8, 1990. Panel proposals should be submitted in duplicate by 8/4/89. AAS regional meetings are as follows: Pacific - Univ. of Hawaii, 6/30 - 7/2/89; Mid Atlantic - Georgetown Univ., Washington, 10/20-22/89; Midwest - Michigan State Univ., East Lansing, 10/28-29/89; Southwest - New Orleans, 11/3-4/89; Western - California State Univ. at Long Beach, 10/20-21/89.

The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore will present "Ikat: Woven Silks from Central Asia" from the Rau Collection" from 2/19-4/16.

"Timur & the Princely Vision: Persian Art & Culture in the 15th Century" will be on display at the Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. from 4/16-7/6. The exhibition will travel to the Los Angeles County Museum from 8/13-11/5.

The Textile Museum in Washington will feature "An Introduction to Oriental Carpets: The Arthur D. Jenkins Collection" from 3/18-9/17.

"The Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan" is the title of Sarah Bekker's lecture for the Institute of Asian Studies on 3/1 at 6:30 p.m. The program will be held at St. Peter's Church, 54th St. & Lexington Ave., New York City. Admission is \$10.

The Stockholm Conference on Islam, sponsored by the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, will be held in Stockholm from 4/14-16.

"Contacts between Cultures" is the theme of the 33rd Int'l Congress of Asian & North African Studies to be held at the University of Toronto from 8/19-25, 1990. For further information write Secretariat, 33 ICANAS, % Julia Ching, Victoria College, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, Ont M5S 1K7 Canada.

HENRY KRIEGL

## How George Bush Can Avoid an Early Afghanistan Misfire

As the inheritor of the Reagan mantle, George Bush has the unique opportunity of overseeing the history-making victory of the *mujahideen* in Afghanistan. This will mark the first time ever that a communist-imposed regime was overtaken by an anti-communist indigenous movement.

Some hope that this victory will inspire other anti-communist insurgencies as well as East European and Soviet nationalists to secure their freedom. Yet before we uncork the champagne to celebrate and before we move on to other nations we must ensure that the victory in Afghanistan is won. As Mohammad Es Haq, the political officer for Commander Massoud, said in a recent trip to the United States, "All of this optimism for a quick victory is unfounded."

Even if the Soviets fulfill their withdrawal pledge on time, the heavily fortified Kabul regime may last longer than the six months which State Department officials earlier predicted. The war, as Afghans have confided to this author, will likely continue for another year or two. These Afghans fear continued bloodshed, strife and chaos.

This is not the time for the United States to withdraw its interests from Afghanistan. We need to recognize the historical, geopolitical and moral importance of this nation and region. On this day of Dec. 27, 1988, marking the end of nine years of war in Afghanistan, President-elect George Bush and the leadership and membership of the 101st Congress should reaffirm its support of a free and independent Afghanistan as well as the right of self-determination for the Afghan people. These have been our policy goals throughout the war.

One of the simplest steps George Bush can take towards enhancing U.S. influence with the Afghan resistance is to appoint a "Special Envoy to the Resistance" of ambassadorial rank. The position was created by the Senate in a unanimously approved amendment to the State Department Authorization Act of 1989.

The special envoy/ambassadorial position is a development of an idea first promoted by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the "architect" of the U.S. covert program to the *mujahideen*. Brzezinski, in his testimony before the Congressional Task Force on Afghanistan in June 1985, charged the Reagan Administration with "managerial neglect." Brzezinski advocated the formation of a presidential panel of NSC officials, congressmen and public figures who would advise the president and develop support for the Afghan resistance. Sen. Robert Dole, in the floor discussion of the amendment called it "the single most important step we can take to achieve (our objectives) is to expand and upgrade our direct contact and liaison with the resistance."

Despite clamoring from Congress, little action was taken on improving the development and coordination of U.S. policy on Afghanistan. At present, there are at least four different bureaus at the State Department and AID in Washington who handle this issue. No one bureau or individual is clearly empowered to coordinate and direct policy. This naturally dissipates the administration's ability to develop and implement policy. As a result, the

**"T**he complex political issue of who will rule Afghanistan in the future necessitates U.S. involvement.

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individual or bureau with the strongest bureaucratic coalition gets their idea promoted and the policy process is thereby cheapened.

In addition, the United States is heavily reliant on Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence for intelligence information on the resistance and the war as well as the all-important distribution of covert assistance. Many Afghans and their supporters have been openly critical

This means an abandonment of the silly notion of a broad-based coalition government with "non-communist" PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) members. There is no such thing as a non-communist. There is also historical precedent illustrated in revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua of how communists manipulate coalition governments to assume total control.

Being a player also means stricter monitoring of U.S. aid to ensure that it goes to commanders who have proven themselves effective in the battlefield not to those who are favorites in Islamabad or Peshawar.

The special envoy/ambassador with proper staff assistance can oversee this operation. The ambassador can be stationed in Washington, D.C. if politically necessary, and can be moved to Kabul at the appropriate time, i.e. when the *mujahideen* have taken over. He can play the role envisioned by Brezhnev and inform the president and members of the National Security Council on the latest military and political developments in this fast-changing war.

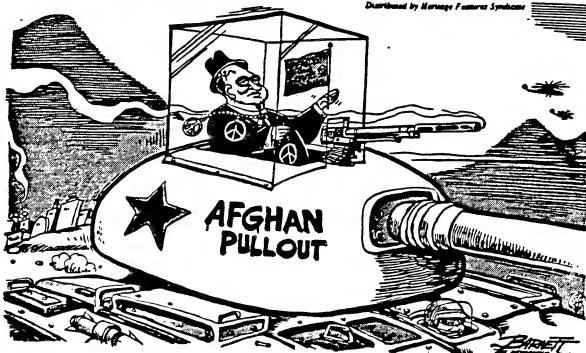
It should be noted that the State Department appointed Edmund McWilliams as the special envoy to our ambassador to Pakistan, Robert Oakley. McWilliams served nobly in our counsel in Kabul, however, his authority is seriously limited by his position and that of the ambassador to Pakistan. McWilliams cannot file reports directly to Washington without it first being read and approved by Oakley. Oakley is also burdened by his portfolio of Pakistan which, itself, is undergoing major political changes. Oakley cannot, in fairness to his position and

the responsibilities it entails, successfully carry out both duties. In addition the interests of the *mujahideen* and Pakistan do not entirely overlap and as most foreign service officers suffer from some degree of "clients," Oakley may not be able to professionally serve both interests without compromising one for the other.

Lastly, Bush should prevail upon his mentor, Ronald Reagan, to re-initiate the deliveries of Spanish 120mm mortars and mine-clearing equipment to the *mujahideen*. This aid was apparently cut off last May in exchange for a Soviet agreement not to launch offensives during their pullout. The Soviets, true to form, have violated their word, and reports indicate that Kandahar, the second largest city in prewar Afghanistan, has been besieged with hundreds sorties each day for the last six weeks.

Our response should be strong. Send the *mujahideen* Stingers, long range mortars and mine-clearing equipment to offset this Soviet escalation. Send them better Stingers to take down the higher flying Backfire bombers deployed from Soviet air bases. By appointing a special envoy/ambassador to the *mujahideen* and by helping to continue sophisticated aid, Bush might be able to celebrate this Feb. 15 with fewer doubts of Afghanistan backfiring during the middle of his administration.

Henry Kriegel is the executive director of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan.



of ISI for playing favorites among the seven party Alliances.

Afghanistan is now entering a very delicate and sensitive period of political development. Whereas the military objectives of both Pakistan and the *mujahideen* are one, the political goals are somewhat different. Pakistan would like to see an independent Afghanistan. It would also like to see a resolution to the Pushtun and Baluch peoples' of western Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan desire for independence. As a result, Pakistan has gauged its support to those groups which support its political claims.

The complex political issue of who will rule Afghanistan in the future and what-kind of government will be in place necessitates U.S. influence and involvement. To say that America should pour in billions of dollars in covert and humanitarian assistance to the *mujahideen* in a "dark alley" and turn around and walk away is ridiculous. But that is the essence of those who argue that we cannot tell the resistance what to do. That is true only in part but it ignores the good will the United States has generated by our support of both the *mujahideen* and the government of Pakistan. We are players in the Great Game of Afghanistan. We have been on the right side. We have a great chance of winning. And we should help the Afghans decide for themselves what kind of government and leadership they want. (Once "self-determination" is determined and set up as a formal government, then we can declare victory.)

EVERY Thursday for the past few months, eight diplomats have gathered in an embassy building in Kabul to discuss their future as the Russians make their final, secret withdrawal from this besieged and frightened city.

They are all themselves, half-jokingly, the Unfriendly Powers, and include the British, American, French and Chinese, all of whom have refused to recognise the regime of President Najibullah and the nine-year Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Now that this convivial gathering is about to be just a memory, Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Japan and Italy are all pulling out in the next few days — the committee has made one last prediction about when (not if) Kabul will fall to the Mujaheddin.

This will be the last day of Najibullah until April Fool's Day, the Americans a little longer, and the Chinese, for some inscrutable reason, until the end of the year. The prize is a box of Scotch.

With the Russians due to withdraw most of their remaining 10,000 soldiers from Kabul at the end of this week, 10 days ahead of the February 15 deadline, the only question being asked are the terms of Moscow's own survival and how bloody the transition to control by the encircling Mujaheddin will be.

Most expect a period of violence, even civil strife, total, with revenge killings by the guerrillas and street fighting on a scale to rival Beirut.

The embassies have prepared for the worst. The American charge d'affaires, who has been a prime target of the Soviet humiliation with ill-conceived glee, keeps a flak jacket, gas mask and helmet on his desk.

In the rare occasions that he ventures outside the small embassy compound, accompanied by two car loads of Afghan secret police bodyguards, he carries a revolver.

His mission is guarded by four American marines. They were disappointed to leave later than expected. One of them said he "plays every night for combat," and another's recreation is to watch a video called *Executions Around the World*.

The Americans, based in their vast 36-acre compound, with its elegant colonial buildings, are protected by nine Gurkhas. But, to the amusement of other delegations, these soldiers are

AS the retreating Russians strive to avoid a Vietnam-style humiliation in Kabul, the people they leave behind face a more terrible fate at the hands of the Mujaheddin, reports JOHN WITHEROW.

armed with nothing more than kukris.

This siege mentality, with its overtones of Saigon and Phnom Penh, has led to 10 days of miseries. Even the Iranians, no proponents of diplomatic immunity — he has been welding steel plates to their perimeter fence. The Russians are more modest, but are determined to stay, have cut down the trees outside their fortress compound. The Americans believe this is for an emergency landing strip.

With the Russians, who have a relieved, semi-endorsement, air, still ill-disinclined, I watched one young soldier on a tank on the outskirts of town fire his automatic weapon into the ground only a few feet from some Afghan boys who had officer-monitored with the tanks.

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Guerrilla rocket attacks seem to lose their allies. They have sporadic, and the deceptive air of calm gives a superficial normality to the busy roads and markets, where the stalls remain open. The streets are spiraling out of the reach of the poor, and most Afghans are fearing the worst.

Nobody underestimates the Mujaheddin capacity for violence. They know that many old scores have yet to be settled.

Convoys regularly queue outside the way the Salang highway — "the road of life" — to the Soviet Union. Above the city there is the constant drone of aircraft flying in support, dropping out men and equipment.

During the day, the skies are streaked with the white trails of magnesium flares fired by the Ilyushin-76s to drop heavy supplies. At night, the beautiful, snow-capped mountains that ring Kabul echo to the sound of artillery. At dawn, helicopters sweep low over the city after night raids.

Afghan professionals beg foreigners to help them leave the country. One hospital had already lost 20 doctors. But, in the end, few of Kabul's swollen population of 2.3 million will escape.

rol queues. At night half the city is blacked out, adding to the atmosphere of crisis. Few venture on to the streets.

Amid the hunger and bitter cold, there is suppressed anger and tension and a gradual erosion of order. Fights have broken out in food lines. The Russians are more aggressive, demanding cigarettes and even money. Teenagers in civilian clothes wander the streets carrying Kalashnikov automatic rifles.

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Asked why the stocks had not been tapped during the fuel crisis of 1980, the head of the ministry of calligraphy for Soviet aid, General Hakim told reporters that the government had increased its allocation to Kabul's bakeries from 80 tonnes to 140 tonnes a day to deal with shortages in the open market.

"But we don't want to exhaust our reserves," he said. "In case of future crises."

Regarding supplies of gasoline and heating oil, the Kabul mayor acknowledged he had no figures but said the city also had enough for three months.

Most are trapped by the siege and ties to their families. There is now a mood of resignation.

The Red Cross is taking no prisoners. Its small hospital, already full of limbless young men, has prepared a makeshift ward with 100 empty beds. "I fear we will need them all," said a senior Swedish nurse. Those who reach the Red Cross will be lucky.

Afghan hospitals are frequently without power and desperately unhygienic and short of medicine. It has become commonplace for people to even this to succumb to even minor wounds.

But another fear pervades the city. Despite a massive military build-up of the secret police and the almost social-democratic tone of this once hard-line communist government, most people are afraid to talk.

There is a palpable hatred of the Russians. Any westerner is automatically assumed to be Russian and is met with hostile stares and a contemptuous spitting. Photographers have been stoned by small boys shouting "Ruskes, Ruskes." A driver referred to the Russians as "dogs."

But even if the Russians have regained control, the city will not be safe again by the guerrillas after the Russians have gone. If those circumstances, keeping Kabul supplied could mean up to 15 flights a day by the giant Ilyushin-76 aircraft, an airfield that would probably be expensive.

But there is no evidence that the Government can break the blockade by any other means. It is a stalemate, and as long as the guerrillas do not fight among themselves, their victory seems assured.

SCMP 1/31

But, despite his defiance, there are clear signs of unease. Families of senior party members have been sent to safety near the Soviet border. There is an air of desperation, as well as the usual slogans extolling people to "fight to defend your city". One Afghan pointed out ironically that the slogan used to call for the defence of the country.

The Soviet and Afghan military have thrown artillery and planes into a last big show of force for control of the vital Salang highway, killing hundreds of civilians, if reports reaching western diplomats in Pakistan are correct.

But one of the extraordinary aspects of this war that a tragic suicide was reported in operation along the highway earlier this month. Mujaheddin guerrillas have even been seen leaning against road blocks and conducting road blocks with Soviet acquiescence. Now reports say the road and surrounding villages have been littered with bodies.

But even if the Russians have regained control, the city will not be safe again by the guerrillas after the Russians have gone. If those circumstances, keeping Kabul supplied could mean up to 15 flights a day by the giant Ilyushin-76 aircraft, an airfield that would probably be expensive.

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SCMP 1/31

## SOVIETS HINT AT AFGHAN'S PLAN

MOSCOW

■ Soviet officials say the embattled Afghan regime of President Najibullah will turn to on coming provinces if military pressure around Kabul becomes unbearable. Soviet troops are due out of Afghanistan by Feb. 15.

The officials, who include senior policy makers, have not mentioned any names, but the northern province of Mazor Sharif has long been the subject of speculation. Western and pro-government sources have suggested Moscow would turn the area into a puppet government.

Officials in Moscow, however, stress that the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) should, by virtue of its numbers and guns, be included in a coalition government. They say the West is repeating a mistake that Moscow made recently. It does not realize that no single Afghan group is capable of controlling the situation on its own.

But Soviet criticism of the PDPA has also intensified. Soviet reporters in Afghanistan are critical of the government's failure to get food to Kabul's inhabitants. They record PDPA infighting, and note that opposition activists are "filtering" into Kabul, thus costing doubt on the PDPA's ability to hold the city.

[On Monday, the US and Britain closed their embassies in Kabul, for security reasons.]

Final Column-Judge  
THE CHRISTIAN  
SCIENCE MONITOR  
February 1, 1989

## CALLING ALL AFGHANS...

The Int'l Committee for Migration, 440 Nat'l Press Bldg, 529 14th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20045 is conducting a survey of Afghans living in industrialized countries to determine 1) their interest in returning to Afghanistan to contribute their skills to the rebuilding process; 2) the conditions for return; & 3) the requirements will have to return. From information gathered from those who respond to the survey, the actual return program will be designed by the end of 1989. The ICM also wants to put together a directory of Afghan professionals who will be interested in employment in Afghanistan, either on a short-term or long-term basis. All individual questionnaire responses will be kept confidential. Afghans interested in participating should contact ICM at the above address or call (202) 622-7099.

...UL has food and fuel supplies to last for three months, said the mayor of the Afghan capital, which has been besieged by shortages one month before the Soviet withdrawal.

General Mohammed Hafiz said Kabul had 57,000 tonnes of flour and wheat on hand in government stores, enough to feed its population, which he estimated at 1.5 million people, for three months.

SCMP 1/26

# Rival states formed

ASADABAD, Afghanistan (UPI) — White or green flags fluttering from burned-out buildings illustrate the deep divisions plaguing Asadabad, where rebel factions have established rival governments since taking over the provincial capital three months ago.

No armed clashes have taken place but the dispute among the Islamic guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed Afghan government portends other power struggles once the Soviets and the Kabul regime of President Najibullah are no longer there to unite the guerrilla factions.

Asadabad, 120 miles northeast of Kabul in Kunar Province, was abandoned by government forces and occupied by rebels Oct. 11, one of the first provincial capitals to fall under guerrilla control since Moscow began withdrawing its troops May 15. The pullout is to be completed by Feb. 15 under U.N.-mediated accords.

But within weeks of taking over Asadabad, both the seven-party Pakistan-based Afghan rebel alliance and the rival Ahl-e-Hadith guerrilla group, which recently gained in strength with Arab funding, formed provincial governments.

Asadabad, which had a pre-war population of 30,000 but is now occupied almost entirely by guerrillas, lies in a picturesquely valley of the Hindu Kush mountains. It has been severely damaged by years of rocket attacks by the resistance and bombings by government forces following the rebel seizure.

Dogs scavenge for scraps in the rubble of mud and stone buildings. A few makeshift stores sell fruit, nuts, clothing and military gear lifted from dead Soviet and Afghan soldiers at the war front.

A white flag on a roof indicates the building is held by Ahl-e-Hadith supporters; a green flag shows allegiance to the seven-party alliance. Most of the banners are white.

## Factions preparing to divide spoils

Seven disparate Afghan political groups, representing the country's 30 ethnic minorities, are based in Pakistan. Their military strength varies from a few hundred to 15,000 guerrillas, drawn from the country's minorities, and the groups: Pathan, Tajik and Uzbek.

Their alliance is noted more for divisions than for unity. A single-party alliance of Afghan minorities, frequently persecuted Shias is under the control of Iran.

Jamiat Islami Afghanistan, led by an Islamic scholar, Burhanuddin Rabbani, is one of the biggest and best organized Mujahideen forces. His estimated 20,000 followers are mainly from northern and western Afghanistan.

The legendary Ahmad Shah Massoud is Jamiat's senior commander. His control is centered on the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif, and extends to the Salang Highway, the main road from the capital to the Soviet border.

Yunis Khalis, a Pathan, called the right-wing faction of the Hezb-e-Islami. An uncompromising Islamic fundamentalist, he is one of the few political leaders who have taken a stand against the Soviet-backed local commanders, among them Abdul Haq, the English-speaking acceptable face of Islam, enjoy considerable influence.

Nothiun happens to be around Kabul without the knowledge of Abdul Haq, who would be ready for the fall of the city.

Another faction of the Hezb-e-Islami, led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, is the most controversial group in the resistance. Ambitious and politically ruthless, he is the protege of Pakistan's powerful intelligence organization (ISI), which has been responsible for disturbing United States and Chinese aid to the Mujahideen. In the early 1970s he fled to

A white flag on a roof indicates the building is held by Ahl-e-Hadith supporters; a green flag shows allegiance to the seven-party alliance. Most of the banners are white.

### Newhall Signal & Saugus Enterprise

January 15, 1989

## Afghan Guerrillas Fight for the Limelight

By DONATELLA LORCH

(Special to The New York Times)

PESHAWAR, Pakistan, Feb. 11 — After nine years of war in Afghanistan, most of the guerrilla groups have raised the question of a first issue. Each of the seven guerrilla parties based in Pakistan has its own English-speaking press and political officer and issues English translations of its publications.

It is no wonder, a Western diplomat said, that there are 10 versions to every story.

A distorted picture is inevitable at this stage of the war.

An Afghan commander was similarly disporing of the competition among the ostensibly united parties. "When the spokesman of the alliance says something, all the other parties say the same," he said. "The releases giving their own version."

As the Feb. 15 deadline nears for the completion of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and visas for Kabul

have become virtually impossible to obtain, Western journalists have descended on Pakistan. But they have found that sources of information here are limited and a varying degree of suspicion surrounds the Afghan political parties, Western diplomats and Western relief workers. And the journalists have found themselves the object of a competition among the parties, each of which wants to advance its own agenda.

The jockeying by the parties is constant but it was suppressed to a degree when the Afghan consultative council, or shura, for the first time in Islamabad on Friday.

All press releases, briefings and issuing of credentials for the meeting were solely controlled by the Afghan News Agency.

The agency terms itself an independent and international news organization. Afghans and Western analysts insist otherwise.

The news service, Nafahat have paid \$100,000 to the Shias, belonging to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's faction of the Jamiat Islami Party, the most conservative faction of the alliances based here, and is funded by the Pakistani intelligence service.

Mr. Hekmatyar has the powerful



□ Burhanuddin Rabbani.



□ Pir Sayed Gailani.



□ Sibghatullah Mujaddidi.



□ Yunis Khalis.

Pakistan, where he was encouraged as a troublemaker at the time of border tension between Kabul and Islamabad. Bribes and threats have won him 15,000 supporters, according to his rivals.

The National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, led by Pir Sayed Gailani, is best-known abroad of Afghanistan's three traditionalist parties.

It is dominated by the Gailani family, which claims descent from the Gucci Front by Western-leaning. It is often called the Gucci Front by its detractors because of the veneer of sophistication associated with the Pir's sons and nephews.

The Pir has a big religious

following, mainly in Paktia, Kandahar and other eastern provinces. It is not trusted by the fundamentalists, who blame the origin of the kingpin of the resistance on the king.

The front has an effective influence force from its 20,000 odd supporters, and is well-placed around Kabul.

The National Liberation Front of Sibghatullah Mujaddidi is the poor man of the resistance but Mujaddidi and his Pathan family have high standing.

The Mujaddidis are known in Afghanistan as king-makers and have held the hereditary title Hazrat of Shorabazar for generations. Not unexpectedly, this

backing of Pakistan, and the fact that the news service was chosen to control the news from the council meeting, says a Western analyst, shows the extent to which the Pakistani Government is attempting to manipulate the politics of the Afghan war.

"Organized in Propaganda"

In a field of media manipulators, Mr. Hekmatyar has been the most successful. Western diplomats attribute this to greater organization as well as internal political tactics. He holds press conferences more frequently than the others and makes tapes and films of his interviews. He has also published a list of names — Western journalists who have been critical of his party — saying that they have "defamed the cause of Islam" and he has verbally threatened them.

Hekmatyar was the first to understand propaganda and is still the best organized in propaganda, said an American journalist here, but he is covering the war since 1979 and has himself threatened by Mr. Hekmatyar. "Most journalists have no idea about the background of these organizations," the American said. "Effectively, from the Herat Islamic mass meeting under the umbrella of an impartial alliance news organization. The fact that he gets away with it is incredible."

For foreign journalists covering the war, the problems will be traveling with the guerrillas of a particular faction, it is difficult to see the wider, more-faceted picture.

"When you go in, you are sort of a prisoner of the group you are with," said a Western diplomat. "You see the partial party operation, and because it is a partial party, it is because it is impossible to travel independently from party to party. Few have the time or the willingness to take into account

Egypt-educated religions scholar is a traditionalist.

Of all the insurgent groups, Harakat Enqelab Islami is probably the most effective and the biggest. Its support is certainly the most widespread, from Paktia province in the east to Farah in the west near the Iranian border.

Its Pathan leader, Mohammed Nabi Mohammadi, is a traditionalist and a leader of the so-called moderate wing of the group. He has a large popular following. Unlike other popular scholars in the resistance, he has experience of government.

He won election to parliament in 1960s and 1970s as King Zahir Shah's representative of democracy. He is an unassuming man who is more keen on liberating his country than political aggrandizement.

Harakat Islami, the smallest of the seven fundamentalist insurgents groups, it influence is based on the large funds it has at its disposal, and most of its insurgents are mercenaries.

Leader, Rasul Sayaf, is from the Wahabi sect of Islam and is heavily financed by Saudi Arabia's ruling family.

Harakat Islami, Afghanistan's biggest and most important of the eight Iran-backed Shia groups.

It came late to the fighting, and has established its control of the Shia resistance from the refugee camps along the border. Its leader is Sheikz Mohammed Asef Muhsenay, a Tajik, who is relatively strong and has high standing. No one knows why the Peshawar-based leaders have taken notice. He recently moved his headquarters to Peshawar.

In most cases the remaining Shia groups are fighting forces in name only. — The Independent

THE HONGKONG STANDARD

February 10, 1989

the complexity of the military power structure. Of course the facts are going to come out distorted."

An Afghan with close ties to one of the most conservative Islamic parties offered his analysis of Western journalism. "You put the words fundamentalists and moderates back to back in every sentence and you have defined the mujahideen."

In Peshawar, a foggy border town, the semi-legitimate leaders for the seven guerrilla parties, every reporter wants "go inside" — a term alluding to the illegal trips into Afghanistan with the guerrillas.

Over the course of the war, the means of coverage have changed and journalists have used to secretly organize trips inside Afghanistan through one of the Afghan political parties and then were smuggled in local garb past Pakistani checkpoints across the border.

But American journalists in United States Army surplus jackets are a familiar sight, and cross-border trips are discussed openly. New guerrilla road networks even allow travel in trucks in four-wheel drive vehicles.

The parties are not taking advantage of the publicity opportunity provided by the troops of journalists. "I don't see why we shouldn't do more," said an Afghan from one of the conservative Islamic parties. "Don't they use us for their own purposes?"

One particularly popular offering by the parties is the quick tour — usually two or three days — of party installations in Afghanistan. One party, the most active in this regard, has a waiting list of 20,000 people, most of them television crews.

"All they want is a couple of bombed-out villages, some destruction, some

NYT 2/12

muahideen with guns to be back in time for their Feb. 15 deadline," said one journalist



# A Shattered Afghanistan Finds Nothing to Celebrate

By Debra Denker

We always knew the Soviets would leave, my Afghan friends and I, but we never thought it would be like this, with bloody anarchy stalking 2 million civilians in the winter-bound capital of Kabul. Somehow our naive idealism envisioned a joyous triumph, a liberation, a clean victory. We joked about the "big first step" into the liberated city of Kabul "in a homecoming, in a city I left days before the Soviet invasion. Noor Jahan, a fiery-tongued, widowed refugee, expressed the passion of millions when she cried: "If God wills, we will run toward Afghanistan, we will run barefoot as fast as we can, as soon as we hear that the Soviets are leaving."

In the darkest years of the war, few foreign analysts believed the Soviets would ever leave. There were grim predictions of Afghanistan becoming another Soviet republic, or the country being split. The Soviets had never retreated once they invaded, pundits pointed out, so we might as well accept Afghanistan as lost and control the damp-

But there was a factor that simply would not fit into statistical calculations and political projections: the faith of the Afghan people. They truly believed they could repulse the Soviets, as the people of Afghanistan had sooner or later repulsed every invader in their history. They knew the Afghans would fight "till the last breath, till the last drop of blood," an oft-quoted phrase. No one ever "died" in the war; he or she "was martyred," and thus deserved a special place in Paradise. Yet Afghan faith was rarely fanatical. Most fighters wanted to live to fight another day, but bravely accepted the possibility of martyrdom.

Certainly the advent of Mikhail S. Gorbachev and glasnost created a favorable climate for Soviet withdrawal, as the venture could be blamed on his predecessors. But it was the proud and lonely faith of the Afghan people that enabled them to go on fighting for nine years, like someone hoping to stay alive long enough to find a miracle drug.

As the Soviets left, there were no peeps rolling triumphantly into the besieged city of Kabul, no flowers for the mujahedeen freedom fighters, little enough celebration. Many Afghans who had fled to the Soviet Union will be returning to their families, or are they the seeds of future communist cadres? And what of several hundred Soviet prisoners of war? Will the mujahedeen release them, and if so, will these soldiers dare return home?

Strangely, the refugees, no one I knew well had been killed. On my last visit to Pakistan, in December, I apprehensively asked about the mujahedeen who had escorted me on my two trips into the war zone, patient with my plodding pace, understanding of my fears. I sighed with relief when told they were all fine and still fighting. The press, however, came and said "we have bad news about Azam. He was martyred a few months ago."

Azam Zarbakhsh, our wonderful flute-playing friend, our ecstatic Sufi with the long hair and the Rasputin beard. He would spout Pashtu and Farsi poetry on the spot, then launch into Afghan folk songs, his home town of Balkh. He played in the houses of the wealthy and the rooms of the poor, preferring kebabs and tea to the fancy buffet dinners where he was embarrassed because he didn't know how to use a knife and fork. He was a wandering minstrel, a free spirit, a freedom fighter who died in the last month of the war.

For the Afghans, this was a righteous war, one they had no choice but to fight. Afghanistan has not known such destruction since the time of Genghis Khan. Observers estimate that 50% of the villages are in ruins and that roads, wells and irrigation systems are destroyed or partially destroyed. Now "the war is over," noted that the Afghans are no longer fighting the Soviets, but among themselves, the United States must support this nation of survivors in its efforts to rebuild. Ironically, the Soviet Union has pledged the largest amount so far toward reconstruction.

Debra Denker, who is working on a novel based on her experiences in Afghanistan, has produced a documentary about Afghan refugees and written about them for National Geographic magazine.

## Afghan Women Fear for Rights in the Future

By MARK FINEMAN,  
Times Staff Writer

PESHAWAR, Pakistan—For nine years, Tawar Kakar has been fighting Afghanistan's "holy war" in her own way.

Kakar, a 40-year-old schoolteacher, was imprisoned and tortured more than once by the Soviets in Kabul, the Afghan capital, for opposing the Soviet invasion in 1979. Five years ago, she fled with her husband and seven children and started schools for Afghan refugee girls in this Pakistani border town.

She teaches them that, even in Islam, women have rights—all the more because of the role Afghan women have played in the guerrilla war against the Soviets.

Last week, as the rebels were on the verge of victory after forcing the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Kakar got her reward—a death threat.

It came from one of the fundamentalist parties in the *mujahedeen* rebellion, and it was of a kind that has become all too common: a warning to her to stop teaching the refugee girls that Islam does not require them to wear the burqa, the customary head-to-toe dress.

"This is the last warning we are going to give you," the letter said. "If you do not accept this custom, we are going to kill you."

The incident not only underscores the deep ideological divisions among the rebels, it also points up the dilemma facing the millions of Afghan refugee women who have been changed by the war and face the prospect of going home. In a country where the change will not be welcome. Indeed, the fundamentalist Islamic regime that is expected to take over in Afghanistan will offer women less freedom than the one that drove them out.

Women have fought hard for the freedom of our people and our nation," Kakar said angrily, reading the warning letter. "We forced her eyelids open in bright light for days at a time." Kakar said. "She needs many eye operations. But the rebel political par-

ties will not let her into their hospitals here. None of these parties will help her, and it is only because she is a woman."

Aid workers from the United Nations and independent foreign agencies working with the refugees in the camps that have largely ignored the rebel alliance. They have been given less freedom in the refugee camps here than they had in their villages, and they receive much less food and care than the men.

One aid worker said that more than 100,000 of the refugees are war widows and that the women's sacrifices in the war have been greater than the men's.

"They have more husbands, children, more families," the aid worker said. "And still, when they arrive here, they say their role in this war is to have more children, more sons, more holy warriors to carry on this crusade."

"But after many years in the camps, these women have changed. It's true that most of the parties have ignored them, but through the international agencies working here, they have been exposed to education, many of them for the first time. They have been told they have rights, and for them to go back to a fundamentalist society now just will not work."

Kakar makes the same argument.

"What we have been teaching these women is that the holy war is like a bird," she said. "A bird when it flies needs two wings. A holy war also needs two wings. One is the man, one is the woman. And a bird, like this holy war, cannot fly well with only one wing."

Such ideas, and the fact that Kakar and other women like her make them public, are clearly dangerous.

Other refugee leaders and intellectuals have also been threatened. One of the most outspoken was killed in Peshawar a year ago.

But when a reporter volunteered to withhold Kakar's name to protect her, she was not swayed.

"No, I am not afraid of anything," she said, half-smiling. "I am a good Muslim, and my faith teaches me that the only one who can save us is God. The only one who can kill us is God."

"When I was in prison, the Russians always said, 'We will kill you,' and when we said 'God will kill them then,' Only God can kill me,' and I say the same to these people now. Only God can take away my life."

Los Angeles Times

February 12, 1989





# Pakistan Facing New Flood of Refugees From Afghanistan

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan—Tens of thousands of Afghan refugees are continuing to flee their country despite Wednesday's final Soviet troop withdrawal, and Pakistan is racing to find a place to house them from its western neighbor in the near future, said Pakistani government officials said Thursday.

What is worse, Pakistan's chief concern for the 1.5 million refugees, few of whom of the 3.0 million Afghans who have been living in the sprawling mud huts of the refugee camps here for the past nine years are likely to go home until Afghan President Mohammad Najibullah's regime falls. Many experts now believe that could take months.

"We simply do not expect them to start moving out tomorrow morning," declared refugee commissioner Riaz Shah Mohmand, who has been in charge of the fear of bombardment, the fear of shelling, the fear of prosecution, the fear of hostilities. And as long as there are those fears and the fears of famine and starvation, no refugee will leave Pakistan."

## Won't Be Forced to Go

Speaking at a Thursday press conference to mark the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Pakistani Cabinet minister in charge of refugee affairs, stressed that Pakistan will not force any refugees to go or to

stay. But he stressed that any hopes that the Soviet withdrawal would signal a large-scale return of refugees to their homeland are unfounded.

International refugee Shah Mohmand said, recent fighting near the eastern Afghan city of Jalalabad has forced more than 30,000 new refugees to cross the border in the past three months. An expected rapid Soviet offensive on that city in the coming days will bring tens of thousands more, he said.

For the millions of refugees who have been here for nearly a decade, peace and security are the principal issues in considering repatriation, he said.

"The basic reason that compelled the refugees to leave Afghanistan was security," he said. "As long as there is no security, they will not go back."

Mohmand conceded that not enough has been done to repair the damage inside Afghanistan to meet the refugees' other basic requirements.

The refugees will not go back unless they see there are not going to starve, and unless they have houses to live in," he said.

Independent aid officials who have been working with the Afghan rebels and refugees for years agreed.

"They're brave and strong and courageous all right, but they can't eat dirt," said Steve Segal, director

of the International Relief Committee, which has been working with the Afghan refugees for nearly a decade. "If there is nothing done about infrastructure, we don't think they're going to go back."

Shah Mohmand also said refugee officials say at least now that the Soviet troops have left Afghanistan, the fate of the world's largest refugee population remains the

that by April or May we would see large numbers of refugees start to return," said one official of the United Nations, which has been charged with overseeing the Afghans' repatriation. "But . . . if conditions don't improve and if fighting continues, you will see more refugees coming out."

The U.N. official conceded that the overwhelming majority of the refugees fled during 1980 and 1981 as a direct result of the Soviet 1979 invasion.

"It had to do with the escalation in fighting and the use of new weapon systems and air force, which made everybody vulnerable," he said.

But he and Shah Mohmand said the massive destruction that has been done to Afghanistan during the past nine years—3,000 villages totally destroyed and 5,000 others badly damaged, Mohmand said—has made the refugees return impossible.

The United Nations already has begun limited reconstruction projects inside Afghanistan in border regions where the fighting has stopped, and has started the building of irrigation canals and houses.

But it remains unclear whether enough can be done to persuade the refugees to go home before Pakistani popular opinion begins to turn against the people who have been harbored and fed as Islamic brothers for nearly a decade.

"Any government that is faced

with a refugee population the size of this one is anxious to see an end to the conflict that caused these people to flee," the U.N. official said.

An independent aid worker who has spent several years in border refugee camps said that the situation is the principal refugee concern, but he, too, added that "the other big issue is what will the Pakistani government do. Will they begin to cut off ration cards to send signals to the refugees?"

Shah Mohmand said and the 30,000 new refugees have been denied the registration that would get them ration cards and access to U.N.-provided food. He said they are surviving by staying with relatives in the camps or selling off their possessions.

He stressed that life in the camps, although free of epidemics and other critical problems often associated with refugee life, is not such that the Afghans would want to stay any longer than they must.

"The Afghans in the camps are absolutely substandard," he said. "It is miserable. All they are getting is wheat and edible oil. The absolute majority of them are living in wretched conditions. There is no electricity. Fifty percent are living without any drinking water."

"We are convinced that each and every refugee will repatriate—some will go sooner, some will go later."

**They're brave and strong and courageous all right, but they can't eat dirt.'**

—Steve Segal  
International Relief Committee

biggest international problem of the Afghan war.

Billions of dollars already have been spent by the United States, Pakistan and Western countries supporting the Afghan rebels in their war against the regular Afghan army and their Soviet supporters. Now that the Soviets are no longer a factor, refugee experts say they worry the search of that international financing will continue both for the fishing guerrillas and the refugee groups—groups that often overlap—may begin to dry up.

"Our calculations originally were

## With Soviets Gone, U.S. Should Demand a Referendum for Self-Determination

By ASHRAF GHANI

The Soviets have left Afghanistan, marking the collapse of the besieged puppet regime in Kabul just a matter of time. President Bush has a unique opportunity to define a positive agenda for the future of that country, yet for now, he has chosen to maintain the status quo. The United States will continue to supply the Afghan resistance with military assistance.

Rather than additional means of destruction, the Afghan people are most in need of constructive measures. The Bush Administration could insist that the Afghan people be given the right to self-determination and take the initiative by channeling future economic assistance to the people most affected by the conflict. By doing so, it could help thwart Pakistan and Iranian attempts at determining the future of Afghanistan and at fanning the flames of civil war.

The Afghan people have no desire that the United States micromanage their political future. Rather, they wish that the United States would end its alliance with the Pakistani generals in choosing the cast of political actors and writing the script for the future of their country.

Over the years Washington has been entrusting Pakistani military intelligence with the distribution of more than \$2 billion in military and financial aid and with the allocation of Stinger missiles to the Afghan resistance.

As long as the Soviet army was occupying their country, Afghan refugees had no choice but to accept the price exacted by Pakistani generals not only insisted on picking several individuals to represent them in fact as leaders of the resistance, but also insisted that they be considered as their arrivistes to decide how and when to favor any of these groups. Local leaders inside Afghanistan, in need of arms and money, had no choice but to declare affiliation with one of these parties

The departure of the Soviet forces however, left the resistance inside Afghanistan from this dependence. Should a legitimate government be established, one reflecting the aspirations of the Afghan people and committed to the reconstruction of the country, the commanders are likely to support its authority.

But the situation as it stands now finds Islamabad frantically trying to give its several ethnic allies a modicum of legitimacy by convening a consultative conference or *shura*. Simultaneously, Tehran is adding a sectarian dimension to the already intricate balancing act by demanding a significant role for eight Shiite parties that are based in Iran. Reports filtering out from inside Afghanistan also tell of Pakistani generals who have been urging resistance commanders to attack the Soviets, regardless of the bloodbath and the chaos that are sure to ensue. Only the restraint shown by commanders of the resistance has thus far prevented the execution of these plans.

In the absence of an interim government to represent the bulk of Afghan people, there is no incentive for a full surrender of Kabul and other cities still in the hands of the Soviet-backed regime. Nearly 3 million civilians, locked in besieged Kabul and already on the brink of starvation, are sure to suffer tremendous losses should the encircling resistance groups capture the capital.

Surely the slumbering of civilians of Kabul is not what the Bush Administration wants its "kinder, gentler America" to contribute to.

There's still time for Bush to act decisively to delay any shipment of arms and clearly support a political solution. The President can call for a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations—a logical choice following the Geneva accords of last April that made the withdrawal of the Soviet forces possible. The referendum would be held simultaneously

in Pakistan, Iran and the parts of Afghanistan that are free of the Soviet-backed regime.

Such a referendum would ascertain the relative weight of each of the 15 pro-Pakistani or pro-Iranian parties, as well as that of independent groups or leaders. It would allow the emergence of a responsible and accountable leadership that the Afghan people could call their own.

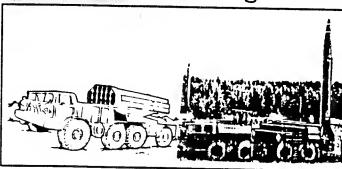
After all, let us not forget that, aside from the nine years of Soviet occupation, Afghanistan can boast of nearly 300 years

of recorded history of self-rule. And, as one resistance commander has been quoted by Western correspondents, there can be no greater guarantee of "honor, dignity and honor." If Washington ceases to view Afghans as mercenaries in its anti-Soviet crusade, it might be able to understand their longings for independence, peace and prosperity.

Ashraf Ghani, formerly a lecturer at Kabul University, is an assistant professor of anthropology at Johns Hopkins University.

LAT 2/15

## Soviets send 360 BM-27 missiles for regime



\* BM-27 system

\* Scud in launch position

A convoy carrying 360 BM-27 rockets sent to the regime in January second to strengthen the position of the regime crossed the Soviet-Afghan border.

Recently Soviets have given BM-27 rockets to the regime and the special Guard Units of the regime have started to use them against the Mujahideen.

The system, codenamed Organ, was deployed in the recent attacks in Panjshir and Salang.

The rocket which has a range of 40 Kilometers delivers a warhead of 360 Kilograms of explosives.

The system has 16 barrels and is mounted on a truck. Scud and BM-27 rockets are used against area targets. These weapons pose a serious treat to the villages and towns controlled by the Mujahideen.

# Soviet cruelties cited at exit's end

The Chicago Tribune

**MOSCOW** — The last Soviet soldiers had barely crossed the border for home yesterday when the nation began hearing about the horror, the grief and even the atrocities of its nine-year involvement in Afghanistan.

The reports, carried in various Soviet newspapers, appeared just as the final troops arrived in the border city of Termez, officially ending the Soviet's 10-year Afghan civil war.

"The day millions of Soviet people have waited for has come," said Lt. Gen. Boris Gromov, commander of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan during a ceremony held just inside the Soviet Union.

"In spite of our sacrifices and losses we have fulfilled our international duty totally."

But the Afghan war also had another side.

For the first time since the 1979 invasion, the Soviet Union spoke publicly of atrocities committed by Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

The respected weekly Literatura-naya Gazeta, controlled like all other publications here, reported that Soviet soldiers had interrogated and executed a group of innocent Afghan civilians on orders from a superior officer.

The newspaper did not say exactly where or when the events took place, but from details included in the report it appeared to have happened in 1985 somewhere near the Afghan border with another country.

According to the story by Gen-nady Bocharov, one of the country's more seasoned war reporters, a group of Soviet soldiers with orders to intercept weapons being smuggled to Afghanistan had stopped a car to stop as it approached a border checkpoint.

"The soldiers ordered the driver to stop," Bocharov wrote, "but he just accelerated. It can't be ruled out that it just seemed that way to the soldiers."

The story said that the Soviets first opened fire into the air, and when the car didn't stop, they fired at the automobile. The reporter said that when the car eventually stopped and the soldiers searched it, they found no weapons.

But they discovered a dead woman, a wounded man and a wounded teenager who had been in the hall of bullets. Four other passengers, including an old woman and two children, escaped unhurt.

At that point the commanding officer of the troops said he would radio his superiors and call for a helicopter to come and take the civilians away.

When he contacted his superior, identified only as Rudykh, the officer said that he had no interest in prisoners.

"I don't need them," the newspaper quoted Rudykh as saying. As if for emphasis or as if seeking support, the newspaper said, Rudykh repeated himself: "I don't need them."

He ordered the men to take care of the surviving "civilians" and to dispose of all of the "dead." The article did not say specifically what happened to the civilians, but it implied that they had been executed.

The newspaper said that a trial was held in the Soviet city of Tashkent and that Rudykh and a soldier who actually carried out his orders, identified only as Private Shmakov, were sentenced to live and six years respectively.

Rudykh was set free a few months later as part of an amnesty marking the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II.

This and other reports in Literatura-naya Gazeta yesterday as well as letters published by other newspapers appeared to be the latest step in a government effort to portray the Afghan involvement as a tragic mistake.

**Asbury Park Press**

2/16

## 'Last' Soviet Soldier to Leave Afghanistan Repries His Role

From Reuters

TERMEZ, Soviet Union — The "last" Soviet soldier to leave Afghanistan was actually out of the country by Feb. 14 but went back in just to take his symbolic walk across the bridge.

Actually, I went there last night," Lt. Gen. Boris Gromov, commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, told a reporter Wednesday at his Termez hotel. "I went back over the other side this morning for the final pullout."

Gromov also found that the room he had occupied Tuesday night at the Torkhan hotel had gone to someone else.

"You can't do this to me," he told the receptionist with a grin. "I've just become the last Soviet soldier out of Afghanistan."

The history of the moment, the end of the nine-year intervention that left 15,000 Soviet dead and kept East-West relations in cold storage, seemed lost on the woman.

But the 45-year-old general, who for the last two years had commanded the 115,000-strong Soviet force in Afghanistan, won the day.

"Of course, we can find another room — for you," she said, a slight blush spreading across her face.

**Los Angeles Times**

February 17, 1989

## Soviet Geography Poll Results



## Soviet envoy offers autonomy for Hazarajat

the seven-party Alliance and Pakistan officials. He also participated in the talks held with the Soviets in Islamabad.

Khalili said his delegation will meet the leaders of the Alliance and discuss with them ways of cooperation among the two alliances.

In return to discuss about the support of the Iranian government to the Mujahideen, Khalili said that the Mujahideen's activities are free. Since Iran was engaged in a war with Iraq, it could not help the Mujahideen. Now that the war is over, it is hoped that the Iranian regime will be able to help the Mujahideen. On the political front, Iran has been supporting the Mujahideen and will continue to do so.

The spokesman of the eight-party coalition said that the Soviet delegation met the Mujahideen delegation twice on 2 and 3 January at the headquarters of the Coalition in Tehran.

When he was asked why his Coalition met separately with the Soviets after it was asked by the Iranian government not to do so, he replied that such a request was not made by the Alliance. He added that the Alliance delegation went to Tazif, it gave the Coalition a right to meet Soviets separately at least once.

Abdul Ghani said from Western countries, particularly in the U.S., that the coalition of eight-party is not against getting aid from any country, provided no strings are attached to it. He said that due to religious ties the Mujahideen parties based in Iran have close relations with Iran, but Iran has its own interests and the interest of Afghanistan is separate.

Khalili was of the opinion that after the Soviet withdrawal the people of Afghanistan will keep their unity because all of them believe in Islam.

He favored formation of a selected Shura Council to be the transitional government, to draft constitution and to pave the way for general elections.



جع کل جے خار

نیست

"No rose is without thorns."

بے یک گل بیمار

نہ شود

'One flower  
Doesnt make  
a spring.'

# Afghan Educational Jihad

BY: M. Yaqub Roshan

...the education of children and youths, and the preparation of future generation of Afghans for safeguarding the values of the sacred religion of Islam and the freedom and independence of our homeland, constitutes the second front of jihad against the enemy's sinister ideological motives.

All along these years, the enemy has endeavoured to poison the minds of Afghan children and youths, mobilizing all their resources and efforts. As a consequence, thousands of Afghan children and youths have been sent to Russia and other Eastern-block countries, apparently in the name of education, to get brain-washed and reformed. In these countries, they are then subjected to propaganda and the hateful philosophy of Marxism-Leninism is inculcated into their minds with great stress and emphasis. The students are also shown the outwardly deceptive scenes of progress and social welfare under the social imperialist regimes. Due to their immaturity, many of these students are deceived by the superficial spectacle and are soon led into the communist trap. In fact their education entails a weakening or elimination of their belief in God, religion, patriotism and freedom, and instead indoctrinate them with false concept of materialism and the thoughts of slavery.

Afterwards, when they are sent back to their country, they are used against their own people to oppose the faith and beliefs of their families, relatives, friends, and finally the whole Muslim and freedom-loving society.

In Afghanistan, the Russians and their puppets have also changed the curricula of schools in the cities and towns under their control. For example they have added the subjects of philosophy & politics in the school curricula and which only extols the false theories of Marxism...

In response to these challenges, the educational front of jihad, with very limited resources, has adopted measures to mobilize the Mujahid generation and equip them with educational and scientific principles so that they will be imbued with faith, loyalty, patriotism and committed to their freedom and independence.

Prior to the coup of April 1978, about 200,000 people constituted the country's educated and academic strata, of which more than 12000 have been killed by the blood-thirsty Khalqis and Panjshamis, while most of the remaining have sought refuge in the Middle East, Europe, and

other countries to escape Russian atrocities of the last ten years.

After the liberation, Afghanistan would be faced with a gigantic task in its reconstruction & rehabilitation programmes, which will be further compounded by the lack of educated, skilled, and trained people.

The return of our skilled and educated strata from America, Europe and Australia, and their participation in the reconstruction of the country is doubtful. However, a limited number of them would be prepared to come and render service in the reconstruction of their devastated country.

It is also possible that security conditions in the country would not be conducive enough for foreign advisors to come and implement reconstruction projects in various parts of the country.

Therefore, the only practicable solutions to these problems are the training of the academic strata and skilled cadres of Afghanistan by establishing institutes of higher education, particularly vocational (higher than class 12), of two to four years courses at university level, for Afghan residents in Pakistan. This will also provide opportunity of education to a large number of those youths who have graduated from high schools in the enemy-controlled cities and have sought refuge due to their unwillingness to join the puppet army.

Similarly, Mujahideen organizations also operate 15 high schools (five by NIFA) in various parts of Pakistan, from which more than 200 students graduate annually. Thus a large number of students who have graduated from schools during the past ten years are ready and willing to attend their higher education.

The total number of high school graduates varies between 12000 - 15000 in the NWFP alone. Of these, only a limited number (about 400) have been lucky enough to utilize facilities in Pakistan's educational institutes. Due to financial and other difficulties, these graduates at present cannot be sent to foreign countries for higher education. Although a limited number of them (around 100) have been sent in the past to the Middle East and European countries, but this number is quite small in proportion to the number of deserving graduates and our future needs.

In order to solve the problems of our deprived youths, taking into account the needs of our country either during the present period of jihad or

## "AFGANTSII"

Anthony Arnold sent us this transcript of a film made by Yorkshire TV with the cooperation of a Soviet News Agency:

### SAC CENTRAL TALKS AND FEATURES

CURRENT AFFAIRS UNIT  
CARIS Report No.78/88  
AFGANTSII: THEIR OWN STORY  
By Stephen Dalziel (S)

7 OCTOBER 1988

1. ANNOUNCER: The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is well underway. By the 15th of August the first half of the 110,000 strong contingent were back home. The war which for so long was shrouded in secrecy has now become a running sore for many Soviet citizens. British television viewers have been given a rare insight into how Soviet soldiers and their families feel about the war in Afghanistan in a highly revealing programme broadcast by Yorkshire Television.

2. TAPE BAND 1 (Soviet troops marching, singing patriotic song; 8", fade.)

3. MARR: The sound of Soviet paratroopers marching in Kabul. In almost nine years of fighting in Afghanistan, the paratroopers have proved their worth as crack fighting troops. They are carefully selected; only the fittest and most able conscripts join their ranks. One such soldier, Senior Sergeant Volodya Penchuk, talked of what the soldiers' feelings were when they first arrived:

4. TAPE BAND 2 (Penchuk; 20"): Everyone wanted to have a go at the bandits as soon as possible, to shoot at them. You just had to kill one of them...But now we don't want to do any more shooting and killing.

5. TAPE BAND 3 (Sound of gunfire 25")

6. NARR: The paratroopers in particular have seen plenty of action. Often the fighting was savage.

7. TAPE BAND 4 (Penchuk; 46"): The deputy company commander then allowed us to open fire on the village. The whole company immediately leapt into the vehicle, and we opened up with all guns blazing. The walls were only about fifty metres away, but we just let rip. The lads were in such a state by then that...I can't even remember now exactly what it was like. We just fired and fired.

8. MARR: But the brutality of the war in Afghanistan has come not only from the Soviet side. Aleksandr Solomin, a former sergeant who during his service in Afghanistan won his country's highest award, Hero of the Soviet Union, described one incident which made Soviet soldiers hungry for revenge:

9. TAPE BAND 5 (Solomin; 43"): We were on a raid on a village when we came across some of our lads who'd been recently captured by the rebels. They'd been treated to one of their favourite methods of punishment, or humiliation. It's known as "taking the shirt off". They cut the skin all round the waist and simply lift it off. Sometimes they tie it in a knot over the guy's head. At least then he dies more quickly. Sometimes they just peel off the skin up to the neck...the guy's, you know, still conscious for quite a while. You can imagine it -- the heat, the flies, on all this bare seat...it's an agonizing death.

10. MARR: The horror of the war was graphically illustrated in the film by scenes shot some days after a battle. Decomposing bodies lay where they had fallen. A hungry dog pulled at the arm of one, tearing at the flesh. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that many Soviet soldiers began to look for consolation in drugs. A former senior sergeant, Viktor Sulimov, recalled that this was a common experience:

11. TAPE BAND 6 (Sulimov; 59"): Almost immediately cannabis began to appear, and those who'd already served for a while began to use it. I, for example, the whole time I was in Afghanistan, except when I was in hospital, smoked it virtually every day. I didn't use it when we went on a raid, though I know there were guys who smoked it even then. We'd get it when we were on raids or by swapping things for it. We had parade uniforms which were of no use to us, sometimes we'd even swap tins of corned beef, though we'd think twice before doing that.

12. MARR: The longer a soldier served in Afghanistan, the more disillusioned he would become. He became convinced that the war was a useless exercise. Nothing served to bring this home to soldiers more than if they were wounded. Lying in the Soviet Military Hospital in Kabul for up to two years gave a man plenty of time for reflection. One such soldier was Nikolai Chekan:

13. TAPE BAND 7 (Chekan; 40'): I don't even know how to describe what people are doing. It's obscene. When you've found out for yourself what it's like to fire a gun and have bullets whizzing past you, I don't think you could ever do anything hurtful to any human being again.

14. NARR: This sense that the soldiers felt the uselessness of what they were doing was not lost on their senior officers. Major-General Leonid Shcherbushnov summed up the feelings of soldiers who were faced with this dilemma:

15. TAPE BAND 8 (Shcherbushnov; 43'): When it came to the moment in a battle when a Soviet soldier would have to kill a bandit, it was often the case that he saw before him a poor, barefoot, half-naked man. This man had been fighting for us either through ignorance or, on the other hand, because he was strengthened by a sense that he was defending his homeland and his way of life. Of course, this made the soldier's actions more difficult and every time made him return to the thought: "What am I doing in Afghanistan?"

16. NARR: This questioning of why they were in Afghanistan is something which has grown in recent years amongst Soviet soldiers. For a long time conscripts were accepting what they had to do and believed that they were genuinely helping the Afghan people. In those days, the decisions of the Soviet government were not questioned. As Viktor Sulinov explains:

17. TAPE BAND 9 (Sulinov; 27'): We believed that we were doing something useful, something humane. We couldn't even imagine then that our government would do anything absurd, that it would do something which would mean the sacrifice of so many Soviet people. We couldn't get such an idea into our heads.

18. NARR: But the more soldiers who suffered in Afghanistan, the more they began to question the rationale behind the political decision to send troops into Afghanistan. Despite his medal, Aleksandr Solomin is obviously embittered by the experience:

19. TAPE BAND 10 (Solomin; 18'): I think that the whole thing was someone's crude political mistake. Of course, I'd like to know exactly whose mistake it was. Maybe one day we'll know. Indeed, one man's heroism is often the result of someone else's crass stupidity.

20. NARR: The overwhelming feeling of all those who have been involved in the war in Afghanistan, officers, soldiers and their families, can be summed up in one word -- futility. This was clearly the message of this highly moving file. The feelings of all were reflected by Mr Grishin, whose son Volodya died four years ago in Afghanistan:

21. TAPE BAND 10 (Grishin; 27'): No-one needed this war in Afghanistan. It has simply brought grief to mothers and parents -- not just to parents, but to everyone whose loved ones have served there. We didn't need this useless war. No-one needed it. Let's get our lads out of there as quickly as possible, while those that are left are still alive. Then everyone will be happy.

22. NARR: Meanwhile, Volodya Penchuk knows that he will be one of the last to leave. He tries to calm his mother's fears by his letters:

23. TAPE BAND 12 (Penchuk; 14'): I'll write to mum to calm her, so she doesn't get worried. I'll tell her, as I always do, that everything's fine here, that I'm alive and well. I'll try not to say anything about the fighting. I'll talk about the weather.

24. NARR: But, despite the efforts of Volodya Penchuk and thousands like him, many mothers fear for the safety of their sons. Despite this, Mrs Penchuk tries, through her tears, to put on a brave face:

25. TAPE BAND 13 (Mrs Penchuk; 27'): I knew that he'd carry out his duty to the end. I felt he would. Of course, it's very worrying for me and it'll be hard to live through. But he should fulfil his duty to the end.

26. NARR: Will the Soviet Union use force again to pursue its foreign policy interests? Major General Shcherbushnov thinks it unlikely.

27. TAPE BAND 14: (Shcherbushnov 25') I think that, before we try again to resolve an international problem by military means, we'll have to think a hundred times. We'll have to act according to our old Russian saying: "Measure up seven times before you cut your cloth"; I think that that's the lesson that we'll remember in 30 years.

in the future phase of reconstruction, it is imperative that institutes at the intermediate and university level are established and put into operation. Specific curricula should be included that will cater to our difficulties, social needs and future reconstruction programmes and which will fully comply with the traditions and principles of Afghan society.

With this aim in mind, in 1984, as Deputy Chairman of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen, after due consultations with my colleagues and encouragement from the respected leader of NIFA, I submitted a plan to the concerned authorities of our host country to provide an opportunity for the operation of a project to be named Free Afghanistan University (FAU). In the preparatory stages (except the title which was changed to Academy of Higher Education for Afghan Refugees) verbal and partial agreement was given to the contents of the plan and the project was welcomed. However, the matter was later postponed for some unknown reasons.

Anyhow, it is once again hoped that the said project will be implemented with some amendments by any one of the assisting agencies in the near future. In accordance with one of the amendments of the projects, the Academy will be shifted to Afghanistan after the liberation of the country. . . .

Until now, due to the presence of Russian troops, it has been impossible to operate high schools in the liberated areas of the country, the enemy would have bombed such large targets and establishments. Hence, we have been able to establish only primary and middle schools inside the country.

So far, around 1200 such schools have been established in the liberated areas or various provinces by the Mujahideen organizations, mostly through the assistance of the Educational Centre for Afghanistan. A number of these schools are also supported by Afghanistan. Educational Committee supported by the Swedish and Norwegian Committee and the Organization of World Muslim League. The total number of students in these schools exceeds 100,000 and are taught by nearly 400 teachers . . .

In order to inspect the general conditions of schools inside the country, and to evaluate the educational standards of students, their difficulties and other shortcomings, the Educational Coordination Council of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen entrusted me with the task of leading a delegation to Afghanistan for the first time

The survey was conducted in Kunar province between June 1 and July 7, 1988.

The programme contained surveys of the schools in the valleys of Kamdesh-Nooristan, Asmar, Chaghaserai and Pech. All schools were visited, uninfluenced by any organizational bias and preferences.

A journey of 800 kilometres was covered on foot in a period of 200 hours. The journey took place through formidable mountainous areas controlled by the mujahideen and inhabited by the local people. The Russians and their puppet regime are not present, except in the centers of Chaghaserai, Watapur and Asmar, which are under the constant threatening of the besieging Mujahideen forces...

The schools visited were mostly operated by the Educational Centre (pr Afghanistan (ECA). On the other hand, a number of schools sponsored by the Educational Committee for Afghanistan and the World Muslim League were also visited and taken into account.

The main objective of the programme was the inspection of practical development or educational activities in the liberated areas under the present Jihad conditions. The journey enabled us to witness the results of our relentless efforts, and those of our collaborating brother and sympathetic donating agencies, for establishing educational centres, eliminating illiteracy and expanding educational programmes so that a strong front could be established for mobilizing the Mujahideen generation of Afghanistan against the poisonous activities of the Russians and their puppets, and for expanding and consolidating Islamic and scientific education throughout Afghanistan.

The problems faced by the schools we visited were lack of proper sites, lack of teachers, non-availability of furniture, drinking water reservoirs, over-crowding in classes, non-existence of maps & charts, and the high costs of carrying school materials to their remote locations.

These problems, and their possible solutions, have already been presented to the concerned and responsible authorities in the form of a report. . . .

# ORGANIZATIONS

At the Afghanistan Relief Committee Conference, "Afghanistan in Flux," we learned about the spread of the "coordination virus." Groups formed to coordinate non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) work with Afghans are Cross-border Medical programs (CMC), formed in 1986; Cooperative Committee on Rural Assistance (CORA); Voluntary Agency Groups (VAG) & Coordination Humanitaire Europeene Afghanistan (CHEA) formed in 1983. Then came the Peshawar-based ACBAR (Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief) & SWABAC (Southwest Afghanistan & Baluchistan Coordinating Agency) based in Quetta & a member of ACBAR. 7 of the largest German agencies, out of over 65 existing there, have gotten together to oversee projects & facilitate German Gov't funding. The French have CARD (Center for Aid for Reconstruction & Development) which plans to present a list of projects to the UN & the EEC for possible funding. CARD has the cooperation of the French Gov't. In Britain, there is BAAG (British Agencies Afghan Group). We'll have more information on these & other groups in the next issue.

FROM PESHAWAR: Telephone numbers of some agencies involved in Afghan relief:

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Afghan Cultural Assistance Foundation.....          | 43281       |
| Afghan Female & Children Teaching Hospital.....     | 4024/42591  |
| Afghan Female Surgical Hospital.....                | 41682       |
| Afghan Health & Social Assist. Organization.....    | 41827       |
| Afghan Information Ctr (AIC).....                   | 40953       |
| Afghan Media Resources Ctr (IMRC).....              | 41691       |
| Afghan Medical Aid (AMA).....                       | 41513       |
| Afghan Medical Hospital Guest House.....            | 41517       |
| Afghan O/W/GVN Hospital.....                        | 0721        |
| Afghan Refugees Humanitarian Islamic Unity.....     | 1023        |
| Afghan Relief (UK).....                             | 42223       |
| Afghan Scholarship Program.....                     | 43135       |
| Afghan Surgical Hospital.....                       | 61945       |
| Afghan Welfare Ctr.....                             | 41181/8     |
| Afghanaid (UK).....                                 | 42030       |
| Afghanistan Education Committee (AEC).....          | 41147       |
| Afghanistan Orthopaedic Center Germany.....         | 42591       |
| Afghanistan Red Crescent.....                       | 42320       |
| Agricultural Survey of Afghanistan.....             | 08237       |
| American Exporters Group (AMEG).....                | 61299       |
| ARC-ASAR (Assist. to Skilled Afghan Refugees).....  | 61129       |
| Australian Relief Committee (ARC).....              | 42584/42592 |
| AVICEN (Afghan Vaccination & Immunization Ctr)..... | 41156       |
| Bureau International d'Afghanistan.....             | 42370       |
| Caritas.....  | 40225       |
| Comm for Afghan Refs--Text Book Board.....          | 7013        |
| Comm for Afghan Refs--District Administrators.....  | 50502       |
| Comm for Afghan Refs--Protocol.....                 | 60438       |
| Comm for Afghan Refs--Dsp Dlr-Publ. Relations.....  | 64591       |
| Comm for Afghan Refs--Assistant Comm.....           | 74023       |
| Comm for Afghan Refs--Add Comm for Security.....    | 61896       |
| Comm for Afghan Refs--Comm for Education.....       | 74030       |
| Comm for Afghan Refs--Add Comm for Culture.....     | 61863       |
| Comm for Afghan Refs (CAR)--Commissioner.....       | 61821       |
| Coordination of Medical Committees (CMC).....       | 42300       |
| Danish Committee for Afghan Refugees (DACAAR).....  | 0731        |
| DCAF.....   | 42421/40189 |
| Dental Clinic for Afghan Refugees.....              | 41359       |
| Education Support Sector Project (ESS).....         | 43335       |
| EPI Health Project Director.....                    | 40243       |
| EMC (Expatriate Afghan Organization).....           | 10199       |
| Free Afghanistan International.....                 | 42223       |
| Freedom Medicine.....                               | 42505       |
| German Afghanistan Committee (GAC).....             | 42116/42588 |
| German Afghanistan Foundation.....                  | 41257       |
| GIZ Study Project.....                              | 42511       |
| GIZ- Govt. Technical Training School.....           | 56618       |

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| Guilde Europeenne du Raid.....                       | 42320             |
| Health Education Resource Ctr (HERC).....            | 73854             |
| Help the Afghans Foundation.....                     | 41530             |
| Help-Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe.....                      | 42524             |
| Human Concern International.....                     | 11673/41371/40815 |
| ICRC Delegation.....                                 | 40498             |
| ICRC Hospital.....                                   | 50760             |
| ICRC Parsapalegi Ctr-Hayatabd.....                   | 40330             |
| ICRC Training Ctr-University Town.....               | 41560             |
| IMC (International Medical Corp.).....               | 41156             |
| IMC Residence.....                                   | 41755             |
| IMC Training Ctr-Nasir Egh.....                      | 41755             |
| Inter Aid Committee.....                             | 76195             |
| International Information Office (IIO).....          | 42223             |
| IRC DCAC (Development Ctr for Afghan Education)..... | 42421/40189       |
| IRC EFL (English Language Program).....              | 41560             |
| IRC Microcredit Project.....                         | 41242             |
| IRC Health Ed. Resource Ctr. (HERC).....             | 42215/41845/43242 |
| IRC Lycee Maisaili.....                              | 41727             |
| IRC Main Office (International Rescue Comm.).....    | 41274/41845/43242 |
| IRC Printing Press.....                              | 42215/43380       |
| Islamic Relief Agency.....                           | 42215/43380       |
| Italian Cooperation for Development (ICD).....       | 31196             |
| Kuwait Red Crescent.....                             | 42521             |
| Lycée Maisaili.....                                  | 40160             |
| Medical Home of Hope.....                            | 42320             |
| Medical-Saint Frontières (MSF).....                  | 42320             |
| Medical Refresher Courses for Afghanis (MRC).....    | 41831/41492       |
| Medical Training for Afghans (MTA).....              | 41831/41492       |
| Mercy Fund.....                                      | 41005             |
| Muslim Aid for Afghan Refugees.....                  | 43203             |
| Naheed Shahed School.....                            | 41133             |
| Norwegian Committee for Afghanistan (NCN).....       | 11247/42304       |
| Norwegian Ref. Council & Norwegian Church Aid.....   | 3204              |
| Odekeni Village.....                                 | 40910             |
| Pak-German Das-Ed.....                               | 40999             |
| Pakistan Red Crescent.....                           | 65336             |
| Psychiatry Ctr for Afghans.....                      | 42210             |
| Salvation Army.....                                  | 42210             |
| Sandy Gall Orthopedic Proj (Lady Reading Hosp).....  | 60231, Ext. 351   |
| Saudi Red Crescent.....                              | 42207/41480       |
| Saint the Children UK (SCT).....                     | 41918/41170       |
| Saintly Afghan Lycee.....                            | 76729             |
| SERVE Afghan Eye Hospital.....                       | 41093             |
| SERVE.....   | 41706             |
| Seventh Day Adventist Dental Clinic.....             | 42210             |
| Shelter Now-ESAR (Engin. Service for Afg Refs).....  | 42207/41480       |
| Shelter Now International.....                       | 41130             |
| SOS/PG Belgium.....                                  | 40839             |
| Swedish Comm Afghanistan Education Comm.....         | 41247             |
| Swedish Committee for Afghanistan.....               | 42247/42218/40415 |
| Swiss Agricultural Survey.....                       | 40827 42719       |
| Swiss Information Office.....                        | 41017             |
| UNHCR Chief.....                                     | 41016             |
| UNHCR Deputy Chief.....                              | 41017             |
| UNHCR Education.....                                 | 41038             |
| UNHCR General Information.....                       | 41037/41039       |
| UNICEF.....  | 78524/79284       |
| UNICEF Aid for Afghan Refugees.....                  | 41578/9           |
| Union Aid for Afghan Muhajideen Doctors.....         | 42591             |
| United Med Ctr for Afghan Muj Doctors (UHCAH).....   | 42591             |
| World Fund Program (WFP).....                        | 41088/42515/40914 |

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| American Club.....                             | 41321       |
| American Exporters Group (AMEG).....           | 61239       |
| United States Consulate.....                   | 79801-3     |
| USAID Commodities Program.....                 | 43211-5     |
| USAID.....                                     | 43211-5     |
| USIS.....                                      | 40963/41463 |
| VITA (Volunteers in Technical Assistance)..... | 41254       |
| MSH (Management Sciences in Health).....       | 40772       |

## IF YOU WANT TO GO...

One can now call the US State Dept. for travel advisories on problem areas - such as Afghanistan. On a push-button phone, call 202-647-5225; you will be given instructions on what numbers to push next. On a dial phone, call the same number; you will have to hold on until a real person answers. Dial phoners must call between 8 a.m. & 10 p.m. (Eastern time) on weekdays or from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. on Saturdays.

# Top Afghan University Is Seen Moving Away From Communist Party

By STEVE LE VINE

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

As this war-ravaged country nervously awaits the completion of the Soviet Union's scheduled troop withdrawal in mid-February, Afghanistan's main institution of higher education, Kabul University, is moving away from Communist control.

In recent weeks, the 13-college university appointed four new deans from outside the Communist Party. In all, nine non-Communist deans have been appointed since 1986, when Afghanistan's President Mohammed Najibullah came to power and began, with Soviet prodding, to enact relatively liberal reforms.

Three months ago, Mohammed Naim Ashrafi, a non-Communist economics professor who studied in West Germany, was named vice-chancellor for budget affairs. Now only the university president, Tahir Enayat, and one of four vice-chancellors among the top campus officials are Communist Party members.

Party membership used to be essential for academic advancement here.

But even as a reformist wave sweeps across the university—part of a growing effort by the beleaguered government to make itself more acceptable to the Afghan guerrillas, or mujahedeen, who seem poised for a political takeover—academic leaders are not entirely optimistic about the prospects for further liberalization, and they worry about whether the institution will receive adequate financial support.

Many campus officials say their opportunities to express themselves openly have improved significantly.

"Before, it was very, very difficult to speak with foreigners," remarked Mohammed Arwaz Dost, dean of the college of economics. "Now we are speaking very freely with each other."

"Nine years after the revolution," Mr. Dost continued, "we have sent our first professor to West Germany to study economics."

"In one year," he added as the sounds of rockets exploding in the distance could be heard in his university office, "we should have a better situation."

## 'Now We Can Speak'

Other administrators and faculty members agreed that a shift away

from Communist leadership and party dogma were major changes for the university, but a similar shift in the government itself appears to be mainly symbolic, with important posts still in Communist hands.

In that light, the permanency of the campus reforms cannot be certain.

The point was made clear when university officials generally sought to avoid controversial remarks in an interview with this reporter. One dean who criticized the authorities asked that his name not be used.

Still, non-Communist deans appeared sincere in saying they felt they could express their opinions freely and speak with foreigners—two actions that previously might have subjected them to a visit by the government's secret police.

In the past, said Vadim Safi, dean of law and political science, "we could not listen to the BBC, even in our rooms. Now we can speak."

On the other hand, Mr. Safi said, conflict between the government and its enemies is producing a new sort of inhibition.

"Before there was no ability to speak," he explained. "Now there is no time to speak."

Meanwhile, Mr. Enayat, the president, appealed for international support for his institution.

"We have passed through a difficult period," he said. "After the revolution, West Germany, France, and the United States unilaterally withdrew their affiliation with Kabul University, and we were left to cope with the vacuum ourselves."

"We now urgently need any aid from any country in the world, no matter their social system."

"We ask academic centers to help us, especially to renew the affiliations they once had with us."

Indeed, the government-run university, with 10,500 students, has suffered greatly during the Soviet-backed government's nine-year-old war against the guerrillas.

After the Communist takeover in 1978 and the Soviet invasion in 1979 that propped up the government here, Western countries withdrew virtually all education assistance from Afghanistan. In the process, many international connections were severed. The links had been providing the university with textbooks, journals, laboratory equipment, and visiting professors.

The university's engineering program was shut down completely from 1980 to 1987. Although it has reopened with Soviet aid, it is still forced to rely on many obsolete American textbooks.

Mr. Enayat, who teaches in the engineering school, said he was preparing lectures from a 14-year-old textbook on surveying. "We are in urgent need of textbooks," he said.

At the university's agriculture college, progress in research and instruction has been virtually stopped since the Soviet invasion, according to the dean, Abdul Quhar Samin.

The college was established in 1955 with a staff of two Afghans and 13 Americans from the University of Wyoming, which also provided technical support. The American institution sent teams of educators to Kabul over the next 16 years.

Then the University of Nebraska at Omaha began assigning instructors to the agriculture college. Laboratories were set up, textbooks were purchased, and a building for 200 students was constructed.

In addition, 21 of the college's 47 faculty members received advanced education—and nine Ph.D.'s—at American colleges and universities.

Since the Soviet invasion, aid from the Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies has enabled the college to continue operating—its enrollment has swelled to 1,100—but Kabul officials said it remained technologically backward. Mr. Samin said the college needed American parts for broken and worn-out laboratory equipment.

Meanwhile, the war has taken a heavy toll on Afghan's intellectual leadership, as thousands of bright young Afghans have died or fled the country. Total fatalities in the war have been estimated at about one million.

Said Asif Zahir, the government's Minister for Rural Reconstruction and Development: "In the past 10 years, our youth did not get an education. That's a tremendous loss. The physical damage, that's easy to repair. But to build human beings, that's very hard."

## 20,000 Study in Soviet Union

In spite of the loss of Western aid, the institution has managed to survive and even to make progress in some areas, mainly with Soviet support.

According to Homayun Kamran, vice-chancellor for cultural and social affairs and a Communist Party member, 20,000 Afghan students are now studying in the Soviet Union, and 80 university lecturers are on year-long assignments there. In the last year, Moscow also has helped Afghanistan establish three universities affiliated with Kabul University. Mr. Kamran said.

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February 1, 1989

The Chronicle of Higher Education

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"The Afghans' Next Ordeal" by Theodore L. Eliot, Jr. in *WORLD MONITOR*, December, 1988. Pp 40-47.

"Waiting for the End" by Edward W. Desmond in *TIME*, 2/6/89. Pp 38-40.

Vol. 7 #2/3, 1988 of *CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY* was devoted to Afghanistan. Articles include "Thirty Years of Afghan History" by Moh'd Akram, "La Lôye Jerga: Ses Origines & son Rôle Historique dans l'Evolution de Société Afghane" by S.Q. Reshtia, "La Laïcisation du Droit en Afghanistan" by Kacem Fazelly, "Attitude of the Leadership of Afghan Tribes Towards the Regime from 1953-1978" by Hamed Karzai, "The Origins of the Afghan Communist Party" by Olivier Roy, "Lieux et Formes du Pouvoir en Afghanistan, Hier & Aujourd'hui" by Bernard Dupaigne, "Les Institutions Afghanes: Tradition & Modernisme" by Gilles Rossignol, "Kaboul 1980-1986: Un Islam Officiel pour Légitimer le Pouvoir Communiste" by Chantal Lobato, "Soviet Geostrategic Position in the Southern Tier & the Occupation of Afghanistan" by Milan Hauner, "L'Asie Centrale Soviétique Durant la Période 1956-1986" by Alexandre Bennigsen, "Parallels & Divergences Between the US Experience in Vietnam & the Soviet Experience in Afghanistan" by Anthony Arnold, "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan" by Gunter Knabe, "Myth & Reality in Afghan 'Neutralism'" by Louis Dupree, "Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan" by R.E. Aziz, "La Représentation de l'Afghanistan aux Nations Unies" by Zalmai Haquani, "The UN in the Afghan Crises" by A.H. Tabibi, "De l'Economie Afghane en 1978 à Quelques Perspectives d'Avenir" by Gilbert Etienne, "Observations & Activités dans le Domaine de la Coopération de la Représentation Française en Afghanistan de 1956 à 1962" by H.J. de Dianoux, "Afghanistan According to Soviet Sources, 1980-1985" by Marie Broxup, "Preserving the Memory of Afghanistan" by Etienne Gille and several tributes to S.B. Majrooh.

**OPERATION SALAM NEWS**, a bi-monthly publication of the Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian & Economic Assistance Programs for Afghanistan, Villa La Pelouse, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland. The first issue appeared in December, 1988. 8 pp.

**MARRIAGE AMONG MUSLIMS** - Preference & Choice in Northern Pakistan - by Hastings Donnan, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1988. Xiv, 231 pp., maps, figures & tables. ISBN 90 04 08416 9. \$42.

**ASIAN SURVEY**, Vol. XXVIII, #11, November 1988 had the following articles: "The New Political Thinking: Gorbachev's Policy Toward Afghanistan & Pakistan" by Ali T. Sheikh & "Lineages of the State in Afghanistan" by Barnett R. Rubin. *Asian Survey* is published by the University of California Press.

**ET SI ON PARLAIT DE L'AFGHANISTAN?** Terraines & textes 1964-1980 by Pierre Centlivres & Micheline Centlivres-Demont is available from CID, 131, bd. Saint-Michel, 75005 Paris, France. It is #8 in the Recherches & travaux series of the Ethnological Institute in Neuchâtel (Switzerland), 1988. 314 pp., 144 Ff. ISBN 2-88279-001-5.

The following articles appeared in *GLOBAL AFFAIRS*, Vol IV #1, Winter 1988: "Geopolitics: A Framework for Analyzing Soviet Behavior" by Bruce D. Slawter & "Victim of the Great Game: The Tragedy of Pakistan" by Yossef Bodansky.

"Afghan Death March" by William Northacker was in the February issue of *SOLDIER OF FORTUNE*.

"Afghanistan: Policy Suggestions for the Administration of President George Bush & the 101st Congress" was prepared by Henry Kriegel for the FREE AFGHANISTAN REPORT for the Committee for a Free Afghanistan, 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Suite 480, Washington, DC 20002, February 1989. 4 pp.

**ETHNICITY, NATIONALISM & THE PAKHTUNS: THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN INDIA'S NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1901-1947** by Stephen Rittenberg was published this summer by the Carolina Academic Press.

**MOSCOW'S THIRD WORLD STRATEGY** by Alvin Z. Rubinstein, Princeton Univ. Press, 1989, contains an analysis of Soviet policy toward Afghanistan.

"Demographic Reporting on Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" by Nancy Hatch Dupree in MODERN ASIAN STUDIES 22,4, 1988 published by Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. 845-865.

"Italie-Afghanistan 1921-1941" by May Schinasi in INSTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE ANNALI, Vol 47, Fascicle 2, Naples, 1987.

In ENCYCLOPEDIA IRANICA, Vol. III, Fascicle 4, under Bāg (garden), the section on Afghanistan (part IV) was written by Nancy Hatch Dupree.

"Afghanistan - THE CROSSROADS" by Maria Elena Llana & Carlos Iglesias in PRISMA, a monthly review of world news, published in Cuba by the Latin American News Agency (21 No. 406, Vedado, La Habana, Cuba), Vol. 6, #67, October 1988. Pp 34-39.

"Target Kabul" by Donatella Lorch in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, February 2, 1989. The article is about Abdul Haq.

AFGHANISTAN INFO, #23, November 1988, published by the Comite Suisse de soutien au peuple Afghan, includes a chronology and articles on the reconstruction of Afghanistan, women, agriculture, medicine & an interview with Shaikh Assef Mohseni of Harakat-e Islami Afghanistan.

"People of Kabul Await a Soviet Withdrawal with Some Anxiety" by Mary Williams Walsh in the WSJ, 1/12/89.

"What was Lost in Afghanistan" by Elaine Sciolino in the NYT Week in Review, 2/5.

"What is 'Afghan lesson' for Super-powers" by David Ottaway in the WASHINGTON POST, 2/12/89.

"The Russians are Going...But their ambitions remain & the US should act to counter them" by Richard C. Holtelet in the CSM. 2/14/89. P. 18.

"Rebel Sights Set on Regime's Ouster" by Edward Girardet in the CSM, 2/15/89. P. 3.

"The Last of the Soviets" in ASIAWEEK, 2/17/89. Pp. 19-20.

(See pp. 36, 38)

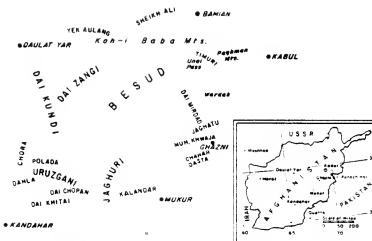
"In Kabul, the talk is of chaos to come" by Marc Kaufman in the Review & Opinion section of the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, 1/22/89. P. 1.

"Who will Win the Bloody Battle for Kabul?" by Seig Harrison in the Outlook Section of the WASHINGTON POST. (There was no date on the copy we received but a French version of the article will appear in the February issue of LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE.)

THE ARCHITECTURE OF AFGHANISTAN by V.N. Karzey, Moscow, Stroyizdat, 1986. "Problems of people's dwellings architecture in different natural & climatic zones of Afghanistan are considered."

BAUEN & WOHNEN AM HINDUKUSH, Aspekte & Probleme traditioneller Bau- & Wohnformen im Gebiet des afghanischen Hindukush, Paul Bucherer-Dietschi, Ed., Biblioteca Afghanica, Liestal, 1988. The only article in English, "Victoriana comes to the Haremserai in Afghanistan," is by Nancy Dupree. \$16 + postage. Paperback, 130 pp.

THE HAZARAS by Hassan Poladi, Mughal Publishing Co. (P.O. Box 7800, 1797 Long Barn Way, Stockton, CA 95207), 1989. 431 pp, illus. ISBN 0-929824-00-8. \$19.95.



DA NAZAR GHASHI, a collection of poems in Pashto by Rahmatshah Sahel, compiled by the ROA Min. of Frontier Affairs. 2,000 copies printed by Ariana Press, Kabul. 121 pp. BNA 1/25

"How the Good Guys Won in Afghanistan" by Zalmay Khalilzad in THE WASHINGTON POST, 2/12/89. P. C 1.

"The Soviets' Ugly Exit - Do Atrocities in Afghanistan Belie Moscow's PR?" by Rob Schultheis in THE WASHINGTON POST, 1/8/89.

Cont. on p.34

## BOOK REVIEWS

PERSIAN LITERATURE (Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies #3), Ehsan Yarshater, Ed., State University of New York Press, 1988. 562 pp.

This volume is conceptually interesting. While it covers literature written in Persian (or its antecedents) chronologically and geographically, it does not attempt to be comprehensive. Rather, its organization stems from a series of lectures given at Columbia University on the theme of Persian literature that have been pooled by the editor to provide an unhomogenized introduction to the subject. The editor also has intended all the articles to deal with imaginative literature. Given this latitude, some subjects have received considerable attention while others have been treated in a cursory manner. There is only one article devoted to the range of the Persian literature of Afghanistan (by Ashraf Ghani) and it leans heavily toward a survey of intellectual trends, rather than analysis of any aspect of the literature.

Of considerable usefulness to those interested in Afghan culture, however, is the large section of articles on the classical period, as well as the masterful introductory essay by Yarshater on the development of Iranian literatures. Although stating emphatically certain issues that remain in some dispute (Were there a people called the Avestan as opposed to the Gathic? p. 5; Was the social & political organization of the Turanians markedly "nomadic" as opposed to that of the Iranians? p. 9), the essay treats matters of style and language lucidly for the benefit of those new to the field of Persian literature.

Twenty-three authors contributed to this work, some like Annemarie Schimmel and Yarshater contributing more than one article. The authors' names appear in the table of contents but not at the start or end of the articles, perhaps to lessen the choppiness. Most of the articles are well edited although a few suffer from careless typing and spelling mistakes. Two useful features of the volume are the index of proper names and cultural terms and the selected bibliography of translations from Persian literature. No translations of Dari material appear in spite of the in-print English language poetry of Kh. Khalili and others.

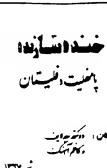
This volume provides a useful collection of articles by experts, many of whom have published widely on the subjects of their articles presented here. Neither intended to nor capable of replacing standard reference works on Persian and Iranian literature such as Iranian Literature, edited by Jan Rypka, and E.G. Brown's A History of Persian Literature, this volume is a useful supplement, particularly on the subject of the modern Persian literature of Iran.

Eden Naby  
Brimfield, Massachusetts

### KNT 12/25 "Constructive Laughter"

The Journalists' Union of the Republic of Afghanistan has recently brought out "Constructive Laughing" written by Dr. Asadullah and Kamran Ahang and is now available in bookstores. The authors of that book are both well-known journalists and give a profound analysis of these interesting genes in journalism.

Bang Shafiee, Chairman of the Journalists' Union of RA has written a preface to the book that says in part: "This gene 'satire' has been on usage in the Afghan print media since long and we can cite various forms of this gene. So far the systematic and scientific study of this genes and researches on this



subject have not been made. This is the time of great pleasure that now we have the privileges and abilities to have access to the book. I am glad to publish a book under the title of "Constructive Laughing" that embraces two satirical genes namely feuilleton and pamphleteer."

In the first chapter of the book, the authors describe the world satire and its usage in the ancient literature of Rome and the classical literature of Dari and works of Roudaki, Ferdousi, Saadi, Nasir Khusrau and Obaid Zakani in particular. In the proceeding chapters principles of typification of satire, definition of feuilleton and its satirical and literary aspects and the fact that the satirist makes his own publication in the Afghan press for the first time in Soroush Akbari Afghanistan (Mizan 16, 1290 Hijri) in the forms of feuilleton and pamphleteer are widely described. Vlenna Mahmud Tarzi is introduced in the book as the first

and devilish of the society and criticized the anti-social acts."

After the feuilleton of Tarzi's era, the book depicts feuilletons of the Anis daily in the first year of its establishment. Mahiuddin Ains, the first editor-in-chief and founder of the paper wrote his first feuilleton and published in this paper under the title of "Be Prompt towards salvation" was the first feuilleton of Mahmud Tarzi depicted political and social shortcoming of the time. Later he wrote "War and Peace" and "The gift". He depicted the involvement of the police time in robbery and corruption under the satirical diction of his feuilleton. The book tells the story of Mahiuddin Anis who was pulled for publishing satirical writings as well as of Mahmud Tarzi who

was tried for publishing a feuilleton by famous Soviet journalist Klopov, in Pravda. In the conclusion of the book the authors give hints to the journalists principles and how to write feuilletons (By Z. Rakan)

In other chapters of the book, we read about the feuilleton and pamphleteer in the Soviet literature, especially the print media, especially the print media publications that were published

## LETTERS

To the Editor:

I am writing to comment, I hope for publication in the Afghanistan Forum, on Prof. Nake Kamrany's review in the January, 1989 issue of Abdul Samad Ghaus's book, "The Fall of Afghanistan." In particular, I want to express a few thoughts about Mohammad Daoud, whom I came to know quite well while I was US Ambassador to Afghanistan from November, 1973 to June 1978.

There is certainly much negative that can be said about Daoud. He was an ambitious and ruthless dictator. As time went on, he increasingly disregarded the counsel of wise men and restricted his inner circle mostly to sycophants, a failing common to dictators. He was incredibly naive about the Soviet Union, perhaps even to the end of his life, although there is evidence, well presented by Mr. Ghaus, that he was becoming better aware of Soviet designs in the last couple of years. Prompted no doubt by some of the Communists who accompanied him into power in 1973, he was highly suspicious of the United States, but I would not say that he was anti-American.

One anecdote will illustrate more than one of the foregoing points. In one of my first conversations with him in late 1973, he mentioned with some passion his unhappiness at being called the "Red Prince" by the New York Times when he approved the Soviets' constructing the Salang road. He vigorously asserted that he would never permit Soviet tanks to come down that road.

As Mr. Ghaus details, as time went on after his coup of July, 1973, he weeded Communists out of his inner circle, sought alternatives to Soviet assistance, both economic and military, from other countries, and entered into a dialogue with Pakistan on the "Pushtunistan" issue. All of these moves indicated that he was trying to distance himself a bit from the Soviets. Arguably, it was too late. Bringing the Soviets into the Afghan military in the 1950s proved to be a fatal mistake as American diplomats like Leon Poullada and Armin Meyer warned at that time. And Daoud's own ruthlessness deserted him when he failed to dispose of Taraki, Babrak and Amin when he had them arrested in April, 1978.

So I agree with Prof. Kamrany that Daoud "went for broke and lost in the superpower game." (I would not say the same about Naim whose influence on his brother was sharply reduced in 1977-78.) But I also agree with Louis Dupree who, in the epilogue of the 1973 edition of his book, "Afghanistan," states that "Daoud Khan is neither pro-Russian, pro-Chinese, nor pro-American: he is vigorously pro-Afghan."

Daoud deserves a biography. Will Prof. Dupree, Prof. Kamrany or someone else undertake it?

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.  
Sonoma, California

### RECENT PUBLICATIONS - cont. from p. 32

"A Remarkable Realism on Afghanistan - Gorbachev Saw the Futility, We Should See the Opportunity" by Graham Allison in the LOS ANGELES TIMES, 2/17/89.

Michael Dobbs wrote two articles for THE WASHINGTON POST: "Afghan Pullout Marks Historic Reversal for Soviets" (2/13/89) & "In Service of the Motherland - Soviet Society Bears Wounds of Afghan War" (2/14/89).

"Enemies amid America's Afghans" by Richard Mackenzie in INSIGHT, 1/23/89. Several people linked to the ROA have settled in the US & their residency

upsets some. An Afghan woman whose father was a beloved leader before the invasion now lives in Maryland. Like the others, she is aghast at some of those coming to America. "There is an Afghan poem," she says. "It reads, 'Whatever type of clothes you wear, I'll know you from your walk.'"

# THE KABUL TIMES

## Ten more projects approved in private sector

The permanent commission of the council of ministers on domestic and foreign investments recently held a meeting under the chairmanship of Sayed Amanuddin Amir, Deputy Prime Minister and president of the economic consultation council.

To further enhance the role of private entrepreneurs the commission approved ten private projects with an initial capital of Afs. 180 million and working capital of Afs. 412 million. The projects are as follows:

— Faqir plastic production project:

This project will be established with an initial capital of Afs. 40 million and working capital of Afs. 90 million at industrial estate.

Its annual production will be 18 thousand sets

of 52 pieces of plasco dishes. The project will also provide job opportunity for 70 persons.

— Herat, Shizai, Sayeq and Ibar Yami construction projects:

These four projects will be established in Herat, Balkh, Ghazni and Jauzjan provinces with initial capitals of Afs. 19, 21, 20 and 16 million Afs and final capitals of Afs. 39, 41, 40 and 36 million respectively. Each one of these projects will have an annual production capacity of 26, 30, 30 and 25 thousand cubic metres.

These projects will also provide job opportunity for 95 permanent and 380 temporary workers.

— Mazar metal project:

The annual production of this project will be 20

thousand pressure cookers and will provide employment for 23 persons.

This project will start functioning in Mazar-Sharif city with an initial capital of Afs. five million and working capital of Afs seven million. Its annual production capacity will be 400 chairs, 400 tables, 150 cupboards and metal works at a cost of Afs. four million. The project will provide employment for 20 persons.

— Ahmad Hadi auto-clav es producing project:

The project will start functioning with an initial capital of Afs six million and working capital of Afs. 30 million. This project will be set up in Puli-Charkhi industrial estate. The annual production of this project will be 1000 tons of dry fruits produce bags of different sizes for packing of dry fruits and 2000

thousand pressure cookers and will provide employment for 23 persons.

— Arghawan socks knitting project:

This project will be set up with an initial capital of Afs 12 million and working capital of Afs. 23 million in Puli-Charkhi industrial estate. The annual production capacity of the project will be 30 thousand pairs of socks and will provide job for 20 people.

— Fruit Packing and processing project:

This project will be set up in the industrial estate with an initial capital of Afs six million and working capital of more than ten million. The project will be processing annually 1000 tons of dry fruits produce bags of different sizes for packing of dry fruits and 2000

cans. With the establishment of this project work opportunity will be provided for 15 persons.

Mojtaba bakery:

This project will be set up with an initial capital of Afs six million and working capital of Afs. ten million in the Industrial estate. Its annual production will be 200 tons biscuit and 80 tons of pastries. It will provide work opportunity for 15 persons.

Furthermore the commission approved the procedure on attracting the entrepreneurs for the restoration of baron lands which was proposed by the Agriculture and Land Reforms Ministry. Also the commission discussed the protocols of entrepreneurs and necessary decisions were taken to the effect.

(By our reporter Farouq)

DECEMBER 13, 1988

## Payam, mouth-piece of party ideas

Hailing the 24th founding anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the first issue of the daily 'Payam' publication of the Central Committee of the PDPA appeared yesterday in four pages with a beautiful format with Barq Shafiq, member of the Central Committee of the PDPA as its editor-in-chief.



1/1

Payam which succeeds Haqiqat-E-Baqli-i-Saur and other preceding Party papers will depend in conditions of national peace, freedom, creativity and social justice and progress.

The friendly Afghan-Soviet cooperation is entering a new phase. Related to the beneficial new political thinking, it is shedding the earlier imposed stereotypes and becoming more open to the realities.

Peaceful settlement must now rely on a solid economic and social basis, and interests of the broad population segments must be taken into account. This is reflected in the long-term program for economic, technical and trade cooperation for the period up to the year 2000, which was signed in Moscow on September 1.

In this program problems of the public and private sectors are taken into account at this high level for the first time.

The new form and content,

with which we enrich our cooperation, are an earnest of its further development.

(APN)

Overwhelmed by such a desire, we open Payam, which would play its role in establishing peace, and establishing the cont-

## New aspects in Afghan-Soviet economic cooperation

Since March 27, industrial units have been built in the Afghan private sector with an easy-term Soviet credit. This 50-million-ruble credit will go to build another 15 units, expected to improve the economy, writes G. Yezhov, candidate of economics.

Mutually beneficial contacts with Afghan entrepreneurs highlight a new turn in our economic relations, which is dictated by the national reconciliation policy. One of its aims is to reinvigorate the private and mixed economic sectors. In April 1987, intergovernmental documents were signed in Kabul which deeply involve the private sector in the Afghan-Soviet operation. For the first time agreement was reached on building projects for the private sector with Soviet credits and technological assistance. Under the agreement, the Soviet organisations carry out design and prospecting, supply the equipment-

ent, materials and spares, and help with assembly and adjustment work. The trade pattern has also been updated. Visiting Kabul last January, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said: "We are maintaining good trade with Afghan merchants."

Opportunities are open for its rapid expansion. They are intensively being tapped in frontier trade, which is developing dynamically: from 5.3 million rubles in 1987 to over 27 million in the first nine months of this year. Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenia have the greatest share in it, supplying construction materials, equipment, foods, utensils, fabrics etc.

Showing a comprehensive approach to trade and economic contacts with Afghanistan, the Soviet Union expands aid to its public sector. In recent years, two motor tools have been put into operation and the first-ever foundry opened at

the Jangalak Factory in Kabul. The major Pul-i-Khumri hydro for the northern Afghan industry and Darunta power plant near Jalalabad have been built. In early 1987 the Soviet-assisted plant generated nearly one-third of the country's electricity.

Agriculture is a major cooperation area. Last February a big contract was signed on technical assistance in building the Kucha cotton-growing state farm in Afghanistan. By 1990 it will develop 2,000 hectares of irrigated land and build production facilities for construction workers and operators, as well as livestock farms and units. The farm will produce 50,000 tons of fine-fibre cotton, or as much as the entire country does today.

Space club membership opens up broad prospects for Afghan economic development. During the joint Afghan-Soviet space flight, detailed photos of Afghan territory were

taken for geological survey and siting of industries, hydrotechnical structures and communications.

The friendly Afghan-Soviet cooperation is entering a new phase. Related to the beneficial new political thinking, it is shedding the earlier imposed stereotypes and becoming more open to the realities. Peaceful settlement must now rely on a solid economic and social basis, and interests of the broad population segments must be taken into account. This is reflected in the long-term program for economic, technical and trade cooperation for the period up to the year 2000, which was signed in Moscow on September 1.

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(APN)

— CENIHER 7, 1988

# Self-sufficiency in medicine production

The Pharmaceutical Department has produced during the last six months medicines of different kinds with a total cost of 4864717.27 Afghani. Also, in the same period, the department has imported drugs and medical equipment to foreign countries with a cost of 4864717.27 Afghani. The figures show an increase of 15.84 percent in production and 42.23 percent in export comparing the plans of last two years.

Mohammad Hassan Forutan, commercial deputy of the department said to KT correspondent: "The Pharmaceutical Department this year has given the permission of import of medicine and medical tools costing 827672200 US dollars to the national traders of the private section.

During the past eight months, the department has sold medicine and medical equipments worth a total cost of 827672200 Afghani. Import of the department and the activities of the wholesale suppliers meet the 75 percent need of the citizens of the capital.

Our compatriots obtain their medicine from 97 state drugstores in different parts of the country of which 37 of them are functioning in the capital. Recently the department started new drugstores in Sistan Bal province to meet the need of the people.

Forutan went on to say: "the department manufactures numerous varieties of pills, capsules, syrups, compound medicine, alcohol of 75 percent, syrup ampoule, Benzalkonium Chloride solution tincture, distilled water, Pompadu, sherbats, Anti-Rabies vaccines and other drugs according to international standards. The products of the department can compete foreign drugs in quality. Furthermore, the price of the products are lower than the imported medicines."

At present the laboratories of the Pharmaceutical Department, Hoechst Corporation and Sediq Medicine Manufacturing Private Laboratories are producing different medicines in our country. The laboratories of the department can manufacture 122 kinds. Hoechst corporation 91 kinds and Sediq laboratories 36 kinds of different medicines. All raw materials except raisins

and energy is imported from abroad but the Hoechst Corporation obtains its raw material from Hoechst Company in Federal Republic of Germany.

This department has new plans for the improvement and growth of its production. It will install a new manufacturing unit of syrups in the near future. The unit will increase the production of the laboratories. Also the development projects of the capsules, ampules and syrup manufacturing sections of the department are underway.

The Pharmaceutical Department now import medicines from foreign companies due to the quality and price level and contracts have been made with Bulgaria and Indian companies such as Ranbaxy, and Unichem for buying the technology of the manufacture of medicine.

The Pharmaceutical Department was set up in 1954 with an initial capital of 30 million Afghani under the Ministry of Public Health. It has improved in many respects since the time of its establishment. The 1978 capacity of the department

and energy is imported from abroad but the Hoechst Corporation obtains its raw material from Hoechst Company in Federal Republic of Germany.

At present 819 persons are working in the department as professional workers and employees. The department has also tried to train professional cadres. It sends out three persons abroad each year in order to upgrade their skills in foreign companies. He concluded.

Karimullah, a pharmacist of the manufacturing laboratories of the department said: "I am working in the section for manufacturing solutions since three years. Our section produces syrups and sends it to the hospitals in both the capital and provinces of the country. We are trying to accomplish outstanding service to our compatriots particularly under conditions that the imposed war is producing turmoil in our country.

We promise our compatriots that we will increase to a substantial extent our production under peaceful and tranquil conditions.

As a pharmacist, I call upon all those pharmacists and physicians who are living abroad to return to their native ho-

metland in the light of the policy of national reconciliation and the facilities that are provided by the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and take part together with us for the better medical service to our long suffered people.

I fully support proposals of esteemed President Najibullah for the demilitarisation and neutrality of Afghanistan and the principles of esteemed Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that were stated in the 43rd session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

(By: Nahid)

12/22

PRISMA 10/88

**In brief**  
 Official name: Democratic Republic of Afghanistan  
 State: 6,488,000 sq km  
 Population: 14,288,000 (1987)  
 Capital: Kabul  
 Major cities: Herat, Kandahar, Mazar-Sharif  
 Official languages: Pashto and Persian  
 Other languages: English, French, Turk, Over 20, the majority Pashto (nearly all nomads), Persian (most), Pashto (most and second), and others (Chinese, Turkmen, etc.)  
 Ethnic groups: Over 27 (returnees of 1978 revolution, 1979 refugees, 1980-81, 1982-83, 1984-85, 1986-87, 1987-88, 1988-89, 1989-90, 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93, 1993-94, 1994-95, 1995-96, 1996-97, 1997-98, 1998-99, 1999-2000, 2000-2001, 2001-2002, 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2006-2007, 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010, 2010-2011, 2011-2012, 2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2014-2015, 2015-2016, 2016-2017, 2017-2018, 2018-2019, 2019-2020, 2020-2021, 2021-2022, 2022-2023, 2023-2024, 2024-2025, 2025-2026, 2026-2027, 2027-2028, 2028-2029, 2029-2030, 2030-2031, 2031-2032, 2032-2033, 2033-2034, 2034-2035, 2035-2036, 2036-2037, 2037-2038, 2038-2039, 2039-2040, 2040-2041, 2041-2042, 2042-2043, 2043-2044, 2044-2045, 2045-2046, 2046-2047, 2047-2048, 2048-2049, 2049-2050, 2050-2051, 2051-2052, 2052-2053, 2053-2054, 2054-2055, 2055-2056, 2056-2057, 2057-2058, 2058-2059, 2059-2060, 2060-2061, 2061-2062, 2062-2063, 2063-2064, 2064-2065, 2065-2066, 2066-2067, 2067-2068, 2068-2069, 2069-2070, 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# Education process in full swing

The first upgrading course for graduates of the secondary schools of some provinces who want to continue their studies in the universities of the country has been inaugurated in the Kabul University.

At present from the Badakhshan, Faryab, Balkhan, Kunduz, Parwan and Kapisa provinces 55 graduates are enrolled in the course who will take the entrance examination. The students are being taught by nine qualified lecturers of the Kabul University.

Dr. Aminullah Qayum, president of the highest education of the Ministry of Vocational and Higher Education said to a KT correspondent: "With the exception of Nangarhar, Herat, Balkhan and Jawzjan provinces, graduates of the rest of the provinces of the country are already asked to come to the capital and join the course. As per the decision of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, one million Afghans have been provided for the lodgings of the above mentioned students.

Statistics of the Ministry of Education and the education departments of the provinces of the country indicate that over 700 graduates of the provincial lycees have expressed desire for attending universities, but due to some problems and the need of some graduates for stopping education and work, only 500 graduates will travel to Kabul and join our course.

Since the academic year of some of the provincial lycees ended by the beginning of the current month, it is expected that the graduates will come to the capital by 19th of January. But the remaining those graduates who already have come, all facilities including lodging.

The lessons start at 9 a.m. and continue after lunch break till 2 p.m. The present course will commence until 22nd of December when students go to the entrance examination along with the other students later.

The third round of the entrance examination is held on January 3 in which the last 11th grade students of the vocational lycees and evening schools, re-

ligious madrasas and candidates for evening faculties.

Dr. Aminullah Qayum singled out the entrance exam of this year and went on to say: "Entrance Exams of this year were distinctive in all respects. In the first, and

the results of the exams will be announced by March 20th, at the conclusion of all rounds of the exams.

As a lecturer and a worker of the Education and in the country, I consider peace and security useful and vital for the normal flow of the education and training of qualified cadres. I fully support proposals of President Najibullah and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict between Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan as useful and effective step and a new hope for achieving a durable peace in our country."

Ahmad Jawid, second round of the exams, more than 3700 students take part. As per the resolution of the Council of Ministers, the quota system that allowed some graduates to enter universities without passing the entrance exam has been removed. The board of entrance examinations of the universities are busy and satisfied with the new regulation.

Ahmad Jawid, a graduate of the Abu Chaid Jawzjan Lycees said in an interview to a KT correspondent: "Last year the graduates of the provincial lycees were admitted to the universities without passing the entrance exam with the standard of the average of their marks in the last

three years of secondary period. I think that was not a suitable and meticulous method. One can distinguish an obvious difference between the exams of this year and the previous years. Due to the decisions of the government, the education department of the Jawzjan Lycees has been shifted to the capital by plane. We will pass the exam in the last round and now I attend the upgrading course which will undoubtedly help us to have a high preparedness for the exams. The students will be lodged. Beside studying in the present course, the students who came from different provinces exchange experiences with each other. We also have library of the Kabul University. According to me, the entrance examination of the universities is the only touch stone whereby talents can be distinguished and analysed.

All the youth of the country are struggling for peace and tranquility in our common home for after peaceful conditions we can continue our studies very well.

JAN. 7 (Kabul)

## "Economic achievements"

It is ten years that the names of war have been fanning up in our ancient country Afghanistan. The bloody and erosive war which has been imposed on our country and people by the reaction and imperialism. It should be admitted that this war has inflicted a lot of damages and losses on our society and particularly on the developing economy of our country.

This war, in addition to making a lot of young people the force of the country, martyred, disabled and wounded, has turned out a lot of agricultural and fruit-bearing lands to deserts and barren lands. Likewise, this war has made a great number of the productive institutions of our country out of operation, thus imposing a lot of damages on our beloved country. It is for this reason that the people of Afghanistan now seem cursed to war and poverty, money and all for immediate cessation of war in this country.

Having perceived the adverse effects of war, the state of the Republic of Afghanistan proclaims the policy of national

reconciliation two years ago to bid to prevent further destructions, social and economic damages and to rehabilitate the country. The state made the policy of national reconciliation as the firm basis of its activities in the cause of people and interest of the homeland.

The main purpose is to bring peace and tranquility in the country with the realisation of the humanitarian policy of national reconciliation and to put an end to the burning flames of the war as much as possible so as to our fellow countrymen could start doing constructive work in various aspects of our life in an atmosphere of peace and freedom. The state will continue with the development of the economy of the state.

During the last two years (from late 1987 to the close of Sunnah 1367) the number of projects approved in the private sector reached 338 of which 86 projects have been established with a final capital of 1.12 billion Afghans.

Only in the first half of 1988, 100 projects with a total capital of 365 billion Afghans were approved. The projects approved in the first half of the current Afghan year, that is

the second year of the realisation of the policy of national reconciliation, have increased quantitatively three folds and from the point of view of final capital 35 times compared with the first year of the revolution, 1357.

During this period 50 legal and normative documents have been published and enforced in the country for the purpose of the realisation of the legal and economic state relations with private investors. The salary of a number of categories of the state employees and workers has been raised and grounds have been prepared for the supply of essential commodities at low prices through military commercial outlets. Similar commercial materials have been distributed to a number of families members of martyrs of revolution, disabled, handicapped and retired employees.

In 1366 the state of the Republic of Afghanistan paid keen attention to the purchase of wheat from inside the country and in this way it bought a total amount of 187,000 tons wheat. This figure is record for this year in the history of the country.

Another aim of the policy of national reconciliation is the economic development in the economic field.

Id is the establishment of direct cooperation between the provinces of the Republic of Afghanistan and the republics of the 18 provinces of the Soviet Union. Likewise, during this period with the conclusion of long term economic and technical cooperation agreements between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union until 2000, new projects have been opened in the Afghan-Soviet friendship book.

In order to help the private sector in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has provided the Republic of Afghanistan with a \$200 million credit equivalent to 76 million dollars under easy term. With this credit 171 private-mixed projects will be financed in the country.

In addition to this the economic and technical cooperations of other friendly countries has been attracted towards the Republic of Afghanistan during this period.

The United Nations Organisation has worked out great humanistic projects for the rehabilitation of Afghanistan which will amount to two billion dollars. Included in this amount is \$600 million Soviet assistance to Afghanistan.

The state of the Repub-

lic of Afghanistan has undertaken a series of useful activities during the years of realisation of the policy of national reconciliation to serve those compatriots who return home from abroad for example the state has transferred 18 million Afghans to meet only the transportation charges of repatriates.

It should be said that they are not all but some economic activities carried out during the two years of realisation of the policy of national reconciliation. All these successes are scored by our people not under normal but war conditions, amidst suffocating smoke and fire. Had there not been the curse imposed war the number of these gains would have been far greater today.

We believe that simultaneously with the full realisation of the policy of national reconciliation war will be ended and a nationwide peace ensured in our country through the realisation of the humanitarian policy of national reconciliation and implementation of the recent constructive proposals of other friendly countries towards the Republic of Afghanistan and grounds will be prepared for useful and peaceful work in all fields of life including economic areas.

The people of the Republic of Afghanistan are very much tired of war. More shifting horizons are opening in all aspects of our life particularly in economic area.

(Tawqiq)

JANUARY 18

# "In order to laugh and learn"

"Shir Agha and Shirin Gul," is the name of the first Afghan TV serial road that will soon be screened through TV sets all over the country. The serial with its economic themes consists of 26 parts, 23 parts of which are already made shots in Kabul. Outstanding actors are starring in the comic serial which is directed by Ahsa Jalal. Script of the film is written by Wahid Samadzai, Haroon Yusofi, Sarwar Anwari and Nazib Sakib and Haji Mohammad Kamran, Hamida Abdullah, Murtaza Baqra, Huma Mustamandi, F. Ebadi, Mashal Hunaryar, Mohammad Isa, Hakim Atrafi and Khurshid are among the leading personalities.

Besides artists of the Radio-Television of Afghanistan, the educational and training Radio and Television also takes an active part in the production of the new serial. Dr. Qasimyar is the production manager, Latif Rasuli, producer, Neamatullah Hamid, assistant producer, Abdul Razaq Majidi, technical director and Ahmad Zia Ilmi, Danishu and Ghulam Rahman are cameramen of the serial.

Haji Mohammad Kamran, the famous comic is appearing as the hero Shir Agha and Hamida Abdullah as heroin Shirin

Gul.

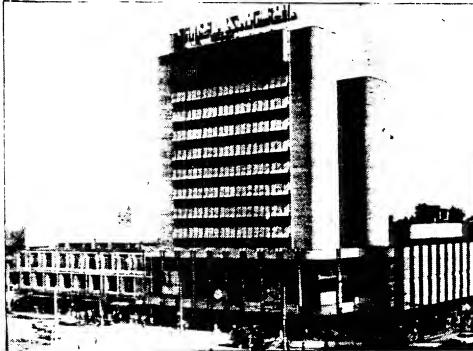
Comedy and instructive elements intermingling in the film as a source of the Educational and Training Radio and TV said: "The serial depicts family and social life of the Afghan society and medical instruction such as child and mother health, immunity of the children against severe diseases of the childhood, vaccination on due time and environment hygiene and sanitary science. The serial helps families to improve their health.

The serial is produced with the financial aid of the UNICEF and will be dubbed in foreign languages also and will be screened by UNICEF in the developing nations of the South-East Asia.

The coloured serial embraces a lot to attract and each part is lasted 25-30 minutes and all parts of serial will be screened in a six months period.

Answering another question

(By: Z. Rasban)



Pamir fourteen storied building in the capital.

## 192 books published by KU

### Printing Press

The Printing Department of the Kabul University has always published books, supplements of readings, pamphlets, lectures, notes, scientific magazines and other teaching material since its establishment.

In recent years alone the Kabul University has published 192 different books with a total circulation of 121550 copies.

From the above mentioned number, 19 books belonged to the Faculty of Literature, 16 to the Natural Science, 22 to the Pharmacy, 14 to the Geology and Philosophy and 7 books to the Journalism and Education faculties.

Besides the teaching material, the Kabul University has also published literary books of general use. "The day from which the April revolution born", "we have to learn from Ferdousi" in the birth place of the

Sun", "With the violets of the rain", in the red lanes of the twilight" and "the roughcast of the axe" all collections and anthologies of poems by the professors of the Kabul University and "the biography of Mia Faqirullah Jalalabadi" by Ustad Habib "Moonlight" face" a novel by Rahat Khan, "Karl Marx" and "Lev Tolstoy" "the mirror of the April revolution" are the names of printed books published by the printing section of the KU. The Party Committee, and Cultural Council of the KU held the major part in the printing of such books.

The Printing Department of the KU has published recently the following books: "Khushnaw Khan Khatik" in two volumes in Dari and English, "Hutakian", "Descriptive Bibliography". "A

history of the Vocational and Higher Education". The Printing Department has published books in up-to-date systems of printing with the collaboration of the Higher and Vocational Education Ministry and after binding, they are distributed to the faculties and institutes of the Kabul University.

He added: "Guide to the Laboratory of the Plant Diseases, Morphology and The Chemical control of the used grain of the Faculty of Agriculture, "Geodesy in three volumes" of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, "Methodology and history of the Geography" of the geological Faculty and "The cattle breeding" of the Faculty of Veterinary sciences are all at present under print.

"The Science" is the quarterly of the Kabul University that carry scientific and researches of the teaching staff of the scientific and methodological council of the Mini-

(By: Nafisa)

### A pastoral society

▼ Afghanistan is an underdeveloped country classified among the 40 poorest in the world. Its main source of wealth, coal, comes from 13 mines in the centre of the country.

Gas and oil have been discovered near the Soviet border to the north but the latter is still not fully exploited.

Afghanistan's gross national product in 1985 rose to US\$ 3.500 million based mainly on agriculture, mining and handicrafts.

The country produced a negative trade balance with US\$ 336 million in exports and US\$ 1.250 million in imports which led to a public debt of US\$ 1.343 million.

Exports have grown by less than 20 percent in recent years compared to imports by over 25 percent.

Eighty-five percent of the population works in agriculture - wheat, maize, rice and seedlings, stock raising and related industries. This represents half the GNP.

Agriculture is influenced by the geographic conditions, dry climate and feudal relations. Thus, arable land which is limited to one in every ten sq km is only a quarter cultivated.

To try to overcome these problems agrarian reform was high on the 1978 revolution's agenda. But only in the second stage was a realistic approach taken. In 1979 the government distributed 37,000 land titles, plots and compensation to 700,000 families from big landowners for 837 rural councils. At the same time, cooperatives were given a boost so that by 1987 there were 321 with a total of 55,000 members. There are 14 stations engaged in developing mechanisation.

Afghanistan has 25 million head of stock including sheep, goats and other animals. Export of hides and other by-products is high.

Industrial development has been obstructed by the frequent attacks on factories and plants causing millions in losses.

Some 79 factories have been built since 1978 and a further 200 are planned, industrial investment for 1985 was US\$ 150 million.

Despite the efforts of the last decade there is still much to be done in improving health, education, science and technology.

The health care programmes before April 1978, expenditures in this field has quadrupled since then but people still suffer from curable diseases such as malaria, the plague, cholera, tuberculosis, typhus and other diseases.

Diseases and war have brought life expectancy down to 40 years. Some 245 babies per 1,000 die before their first birthday.

PDPA health programmes have increased the number of hospital beds per 1,000 to 6.6 while the number of doctors has risen 45 percent. In 1985 alone 400,000 patients were treated at health centres.

In the same year 60,000 children were immunised in a major campaign to eradicate some of the most infectious diseases.

Women and youth brigades have toured Afghanistan offering free medical and paramedical assistance.

Education is another priority area for the Afghan government. The programme is two-pronged: to eliminate illiteracy and to get children into the classroom.

On the eve of the revolution illiteracy stood at 98 percent and only four out of every 100 children went to school. Today, 90 percent of the school-age population.

The war, however, has restricted progress. Nearly 20,000 schools have been destroyed. A further obstacle has been the large number of internally displaced over 20 ethnic groups, many of which are nomadic. Even so, 25,160 literacy courses were taught in 1985 and 516,000 people studied in classrooms in factories and other places of work and service centres.

There are two universities in the capital, the Panjshir, two polytechnics, 34 teachers' colleges and 17 pioneer palaces and camps.

But peace alone will not haul Afghanistan out of its inherited backwardness. Economic reforms are also essential. The new leadership introduced changes which at first seem like common sense according to the socialist political platform. But, in fact, they have proved essential as 80 percent of the GNP depends on the private sector and it is important to ease the memory of the more extremist measures under Amin.

Private ownership includes both small and medium-sized factories which have proved productive. This group of owners is participating in Afghan political life and has contributed to the reconciliation process.

PRISMA 10/88

# CHRONOLOGY

12/12 - SCMP - Afghan jets bombed Kandahar killing 43 people. The ROA Gov't said the bombing was a mistake.

12/13 - BNA - Extremists "devastated the beautiful city of Kunduz" & "wrecked its ancient wealth. They set fire to the public utility institutions including the Spinzar Company..."

- This year Army Peace Caravans have distributed over 16,000 tons of relief goods to deserving families & treated over 20,500 patients.

12/14 - SCMP - The USSR & the ROA said the new Pakistani Gov't "can play an important role in an Afghan settlement & assist the search for ways of starting constructive inter-Afghan dialogue."

12/15 - BNA - In Kabul about 200,000 square meters of road have been repaired & paved.

12/16 - SCMP - Younis Khalis's party called direct elections to the 7-Party Alliance's proposed shura "un-Islamic." His party advocates representation by "educated Muslims who have the support of the people," selected, presumably, by local notables.

12/18 - BNA - Retail & wholesale trade in 1987 amounted to \$222.67m for exports & \$787.87m for imports, according to the Commerce Ministry.

- In Geneva, Abdul Wakil met UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar.

12/19 - SCMP - The official Iranian news agency reported that there are almost 2.4m Afghan refugees living in Iran.

- BNA - Khalilullah was named ROA Min. of Transport; Mir Azmuddin became Min. of Communications.

- The repair & restoration of the "Bahr-amshah & the 3rd Sultan Masood minarets" in Ghazni have been completed. The job took 3 months & cost over Afs. 1m.

12/20 - SCMP - 20 ROA soldiers were killed & 60 injured when a Soviet-made Scud missile hit a garrison near Jalalabad. The missiles were fired from Kabul.

12/22 - HK Standard - The ROA will insist that any coalition gov't must include representatives from the PDPA, according

to ROA VP Abdul Hamid Mohtat.

**"The PDPA (ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) is the main and prominent force in our society... It will play an important, basic and historic**

**12/23 - HK Standard - Najibullah called with Moscow a "turning point":**

The president also hinted strongly that he would be willing to relinquish the presidency, a Mujahideen demand, in the interests of peace, and even lay down his life for peace.

"If in the future the people have another wish, then their wish will be respected." Mr Najibullah told three journalists, including an Agence France Presse correspondent, in an interview on Wednesday at

**role in a broad-based national coalition government,"** Mr Mohtat said in an interview with Agence France Presse here on Tuesday.

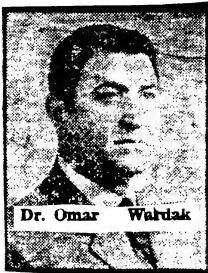
**12/23 - HK Standard - Najibullah called with Moscow a "turning point":**

"The fact that the opposition (the Mujahideen) have decided after nine years to come to the negotiating table is a turning point," a relaxed Mr Najibullah said.

"They understand they cannot win (the war) by military means."

"But suppose for a moment they continue to opt for a military solution, then this conflict will continue," he added.

**12/24 - KT - Dr. Omar Wardak, former Chmn. of the House of Representatives, died on 12/22 at the age of 72. A graduate of Kabul University's faculty of medicine, he was President of Aliabad Hospital. He also served as Gov. of Nangarhar & as Minister of the Interior.**



**12/26 - BNA - The ROA Constitutional Council met and discussed, among other things, merging Kapisa Province with Parwan, Kunar with Nangarhar & Paktika with Paktia.**

- Sultan Ali Keshtmand led a delegation to Cuba to attend the 30th anniversary celebrations of the Cuban revolution.

**12/27 - HK Standard - Gulbuddin Hekmatyar called the talks between ex-King Zahir Shah & Soviet Dep. For. Min. Vorontsov an attempt to widen dissension in the Afghan resistance. He also said:**

"If any of the Islamic parties involved in the holy war against the enemy demonstrates willingness to come to terms with the Russians in agreeing on one of Mr Gorbachev's proposals, it will not be called an Islamic party," said Mr Hekmatyar.

He warned that the "United Nations force in Afghanistan will be treated as invaders," adding: "Mr Gorbachev's proposal for an international conference is virtually meant to further deepen the differences among Mujahideen on their common strategy."

Meanwhile, Rabban was in Iran briefing the Iranian-based mujahideen on the Taif talks held in early December.

12/27 - BNA - The ROA Council of Ministers decided that the Finance Ministry should "take into consideration a cut in expenditure for the state budget in the next Afghan year."

- Kabul & Moscow signed a protocol for preliminary studies for a water supply & canalization project in Kabul city. Abdul Hakim is the Mayor of Kabul.

12/28 - SCMP - Iranian Prime Min. Mousavi was quoted by BBC as telling Rabbani that the war in Afghanistan must continue until an Islamic gov't rules in Kabul.

- HK Standard - Britain's For. Sec'y Sir Geoffrey Howe said that now was the time to heal wounds, not to settle old grudges:

"The transition from the present unrepresentative regime in Kabul to a government established by a genuine act of self-determination will not be easy, he said.

- BNA - Celebrations began today to mark the 24th anniversary of the founding of the PDPA under the slogan: "24 years struggle for peace & social progress."

12/29 - HK Standard - To mark the 9th anniversary of the Soviet invasion, mujahideen staged attacks on Kabul, Gardez, Herat, Ghazni & Kunduz.

- US Undersec'y of State

Michael Armacost said the US would place no obstacles in the way of Zahir Shah's return to Afghanistan if that was the Afghan people's wish.

- BNA - Although 15 new designs were distributed to carpet manufacturers this year, a commission has been assigned to "choose new designs demanded by foreign markets."

"Palwasha," a recent fortnightly publication edited by Shah Zaman Wrez Stanizai, belongs to no organization or party. Its objective is "ensuring of real independence of the ancient land of the Afghan & lasting peace & security in the country."

12/31 - HK Standard - While in Iran, Rabbani agreed to hold a joint strategy meeting in Peshawar on 2/15 with the 7-Party Alliance & an 8-party coalition based in Iran. The meeting is to decide on the "future gov't of Afghanistan."



Burhanuddin Rabbani

12/31 - SCMP - Farid Zarif, former Afghan Ambassador to the UN, is the personal foreign affairs adviser to Najibullah.

- The 1st issue of Payam, organ of the PDPA CC appeared today. The 4-page daily will continue the "path followed by Haqiqat-e-Enqilab-e-Saur & other previous party organs." (See p. 35 )



نشریه کمیته مرکزی حزب دموکراتیک افغانستان

- The 24th anniversary of the PDPA was marked around the country today by the armed forces, party & state organs.

1/1 - BNA - The Ansarullah Union [a recently formed ROA political party] became a collective member of the Nat'l Front. The party demanded the membership.

1/2 - HK Standard - UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar expressed concern over the slow pace of developments toward a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan & urged an intra-Afghan dialogue aimed at setting up a broad-based gov't. The European Economic Community urged all concerned parties to respect the Geneva agreements.

- BNA - 23 intersections in Kabul have traffic lights; however, there are 400 traffic signs.

1/3 - PT - Gulbuddin complained of an "Int'l conspiracy" to install a weak regime in Afghanistan under Zahir Shah so as to prepare ground for outside military intervention. The plan, he said, was engineered by the "enemies of the Afghan nation" - mainly India, England & certain "chauvinistic Jewish circles" to prevent the establishment of an Islamic gov't in Afghanistan.

- SCMP - And from Najibullah:

Mr Najibullah said "some persons and circles still irresponsibly think" that peace would return if his People's Democratic Party government left the scene.

"No, it is not so. Such persons and circles are committing mistakes," he said. He said bloodshed would go on for a long time because of the rivalries between rebel groups "if the present state of the republic of Afghanistan pulls out from the political scene" . . .

"If extremists and the enemies of peace continue their way and insist on intensification of war and bloodshed, we would adopt reciprocal measures and give them tooth-breaking responses," he said.

1/3 - BNA - "Despite of obstacles created by Iran & Pakistan vis-a-vis Afghan refugees, they are returning home through impractical ways both collectively & individually."

- The ROA Council of Ministers set up a commission to study "how to preserve & safeguard in a better manner the historical relics & the museums."
- Najibullah endorsed the "Banner Law & State Order of the RA" (7 chapters & 38 articles) & amendments to Article 75 of the Constitution.

1/4 - HK Standard - Sibghatullah Mojaddidi on a temporary shura [Mojaddidi became Chairman of the Peshawar Alliance in 1/1, not 12/15 as reported in the last issue. Ed.]:

"Time is too short to hold elections in Afghanistan so we have decided to select a temporary shura made up of commanders, intellectuals, political leaders in Iran and others," said Mr Mojaddidi.

He said the assembly would convene in two or three weeks

time and make preparations to administer Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, due to be completed next month. He added that guerrilla commanders would make up 50 percent of the assembly and all parties would have an equal share of appointments.

- SCMP - Soviet 1st Dep. For. Min. Yuli Vorontsov has been meeting in Tehran with Iran-based Afghan guerrillas. Vorontsov will arrive in Islamabad today.



Soviet Ambassador to Kabul Yuli Vorontsov (left) talks with heads of an alliance of Iran-based Afghan Mujahedeen in Tehran.

1/5 - SCMP - About 30,000 Afghan guerrillas are being deployed around Kabul to "take stock of the situation in view of the inevitable fall of the ROA Gov't."

1/7 - SCMP - The ROA military says it has "formed new intervention units & we can counter rapidly in a radius of 30-40 kms. around Kabul." Kabul Commander Gen. Qorban Cherzad said Kabul has new systems in the 2 defense belts around the city & had ended guerrilla penetration. The

ROA has BM-27 220mm rocket launchers which have 16 tubes & a range of 40 kms. Diplomats say Kabul could resist guerrilla attacks for between 2 - 6 months.

- HK Standard - The Afghan News Agency reports that Gulbuddin has put his fighters on a "red alert":

It said that about 20,000 of his guerrillas from northern Kapisa province were being mobilised for "combat readiness" around the Afghan capital and added that some 10,000 guerrillas had already been deployed in the area.

Mr Hekmatyar was also planning to set up a military council, comprising his top field commanders and based near the

- BNA - This year, 2025 land plots were distributed to people in the Khair Khana area of Kabul city. The Kabul municipality has adopted a plan to distribute 13,211 plots in the Pul-e-Charkhi area "to those who are economically weak."

1/8 - BNA - In an interview for German radio, Najibullah said: "The talk held between Yuli Vorontsov... & representatives of the 7-Alliance is in fact the result of our direct contacts with the opposition & thus we consider it as a logical gain of the policy of nat'l reconciliation."

1/9 - HK Standard - ROA Polit-buro member, Najmuddin Kawani, said the PDPA now has 200,000 members of which 62% are active in the armed forces.

Mr Kawani also said deposed King Zahir Shah could play a role in ending the Afghan war.

Mr Kawani said that Zahir Shah, the deposed Afghan monarch living in Italy, "can play a role in a political settlement of Afghanistan".

"We're waiting for him to express a point of view. We're interested in a settlement. The return of Zahir Shah does not mean a return of the monarchy," Mr Kawani said.



Najmuddin Kawani

1/10 - NYT - Alliance leaders refused to resume direct talks with Soviet representatives.

Today, the spokesman for the insurgents, Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, said at a news conference: "Because the Soviets use threats, look for war rather than peace and disrespect Afghans' right of self-determination, we believe that negotiations are unproductive and unnecessary. The Soviets' efforts to impose a government of their choice on the Afghan nation will protract the war and kill our people."



Mr Vorontsov

1/11 - NYT - Mr Vorontsov said, "There is a serious danger that things may develop in such a way that the Soviet Union might not be able, within the nearest future, to do what we have in principle decided to do."

- The USSR reportedly closed its military hospital in Kabul last week & evacuated its sick & wounded troops.

- SCMP - Abdul Haq predicted that Kabul would fall within a few weeks after the Soviets completed their withdrawal.

1/12 - PT - ROA Dep. Trade Minister Fateh Moh'd Tareen said that the present food situation in Afghanistan is the worst since the 1972 drought.

- NYT - The US cut its refugee quota for the Near East, which includes Iran & Afghanistan, by 500. The annual total will be 6,500.

1/13 - PT - Benazir Bhutto said that no external "formula" could be imposed on Afghanistan. "The Afghans have fought on their own & would not accept any other country's advice regarding the kind of arrangements they have to make for themselves."

- SCMP - Afghan rebels based in Iran are ready to hold more talks with Moscow if Moscow comes up with new proposals. But Moh'd Karim Khalili, representative of the Iranian groups, said there would be no progress unless Moscow ceased backing the Najibullah gov't.

- LA News - Afghan troops have begun replacing Soviet troops defending the Kabul perimeter.

1/15 - BNA - Over 40,000 people visited the Afghan Nat'l Gallery this year. "735 art pieces, including 110 foreign art pieces from Japan, Germany, the USSR & China, were purchased & are housed in the Gallery. The process of purchasing more art pieces from local artists is continuing."

- HK Standard - The price of nan in Kabul is now about Afs. 15. A US \$ is worth Afs. 200 on the black market. Large areas of Kabul are without power for up to 6 hours/day. (See 1/29)

جہے تک ای کوئی  
حصہ نہ وشی خو  
د اوجیں کر نہ دہ  
پہلے ویرے

Trust in God,  
but tie  
your camel.

1/15 - NYT - Soviet For. Min. Shevardnadze paid a 2-day visit to Kabul. He said the Soviet troops would be out by 2/15, but that if fighting continued, the Soviets would continue to deliver military supplies to its allies. The LAT reported that Shevardnadze met with Najibullah and repeated Soviet assurances of "all-round assistance under treaties & agreements concluded by the 2 countries.

1/16 - BNA - While in Kabul, Shevardnadze met with Najibullah, Sharq, Wakil, the governors of Kandahar & Herat & others.

- LAT - Shevardnadze said the Soviets would not permit rebels to interfere with Moscow's obligations to supply the Kabul Gov't "despite all obstacles."



- SCMP - Sibghatullah Mojadeddi arrived in Tehran last Saturday to attend a 2-day seminar on Afghanistan sponsored by the Iranian Gov't. In an interview, he said the mujahideen planned to send representatives to Arab capitals for more support & that they were optimistic about backing from the Bush administration.

- NYT - The AICMB reported that Moscow has sent Soviet militiamen with Afghan ID cards into Kandahar, Herat & Farah Provinces. Most of them are Dari speakers & were recruited from areas just north of the Soviet-Afghan border.

1/17 - LAT - Gulbuddin announced that Afghan guerrilla parties would meet on 2/1 to approve an interim gov't. Each party will name 60 delegates; however, the representation from the Iranian based parties has not yet been determined.

1/18 - PT - Jamaat-i-Islami in Rawalpindi expressed its concern over the role of Pakistan TV & radio. The party claims that the jihad in Afghanistan is not receiving due coverage.

1/18 - NYT - Soviet troops reportedly are leaving Kabul by the hundreds in daily airlifts.



1/19 - BNA - The Afghan Red Crescent Society announced an agreement reached between it & "peace villages" of the FRG whereby 30 war-affected Afghan children will be treated in Germany (see p. 17).

- The latest rains & snowfall in Afghanistan promise a good year for Afghan agriculture.

1/20 - BNA - Najibullah sent a congratulatory telegram to George Bush (see p.19).

1/21 - NYT - US State Dept. officials say the Soviets are using a new, heavier bomb against the Afghan guerrillas. The bombs, possibly weighing 12,000 lbs, were dropped from Backfire bombers in an area north of Kabul within the last week.

1/22 - NYT - West Germany's diplomatic staff left Kabul yesterday. Moscow began airlifting emergency food supplies into Kabul.

- LA Daily News:

Workmen in Kabul are felling an avenue of trees and leveling the ground on either side of a long, wide road that runs from the Darulaman Palace, headquarters of the Defense Ministry, past the Soviet Embassy.

(See p. 2)

It is wide enough to accommodate smaller Antonov transports and there is speculation the Soviets are preparing an emergency air-strip.

Indications are that thousands of Afghans, including supporters or beneficiaries of the current regime, are trying to slip away or make arrangements for quick exits.

1/23 - NYT - The Alliance-sponsored council meeting (see 1/17) has been put off until 2/10 because the leaders need more time to resolve their differences with the Iranian-based groups. The Peshawar Alliance offered the Iranian groups 60 seats on the 480-member council.

- A Soviet opinion:

"We have not succeeded in everything we planned to do here." Maj. Gen. Lev Serebrov, a political officer at military headquarters in Kabul, told Western journalists. "We came here with an honorable task, with open hearts. We are leaving, and we have a sense of not having accomplished our mission to the end."

1/24 - Asbury Park Press - The USSR stepped up airlifts of food to Kabul. The Soviets blamed the food shortages on Afghan authorities & hoarders. (See 1/25)

- NYT - The US will reduce its Embassy staff to 8 people. The Soviets are reducing their staff from 400 to 100 & bringing staff members into the Embassy compound. The Soviets are also withdrawing most of their civilian & military advisers. All Eastern bloc military advisers are leaving Afghanistan.

1/25 - PT - Tass accused ranking Afghan communists of criminal negligence, & even sabotage, for failing to head off the current food crisis in Kabul.

- LAT -

to Defense Secretary Frank C. Secretary of State George P. Shultz, written on Jan. 19, the Shultz argued unsuccessfully that last full day in office for the two the Soviet Union should be rewarded for a timely withdrawal men. Citing unnamed officials, the report said Shultz argued that since from Afghanistan with an easing of the curbs were tied to the Soviet U.S. trade restrictions, the New York Times reported. The newspaper said Shultz's recommendation withdrawal is completed. Soviet troops are scheduled to complete was contained in a classified letter their pullout by Feb. 15.

- US State Dept. spokesman Charles Redman said Soviet war planes were bombing targets around Kunduz, Kandahar & Jalalabad - where there are no Soviet troops garrisoned. He called this "a clear violation of Soviet assurances to us not to engage in offensive operations during the withdrawal. This daily bombardment is unacceptable." Moscow Radio accused the "extremists" of preventing the normal supply of food to Kabul. Redman said the rebels had stopped attacking the withdrawing Soviet forces.

Manchester  
(CT) Herald

2/4

1/26 - Asbury Park Press -

Soviet soldiers handed out emergency rations yesterday and the mayor of Kabul said his city has a three-month supply of food and fuel in case of a guerrilla siege when the Red Army is gone.

U.N. aid officials, less optimistic, said much more must be brought in "disaster is to be averted" and they were preparing contingency plans.

1/27 - NYT - Soviet gunners wiped out Afghan villages along the Salang highway, killing hundreds of villagers. The Asbury Park Press stated that eye-witnesses reported "Soviet tanks rolling over dead bodies of victims."

- NYT - For security reasons US Sec'y of State James Baker ordered the closing of the US Embassy in Kabul.

- UN officials said that Najibullah had invited UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar to visit Kabul to explore ways of avoiding a bloodbath. They added that de Cuellar saw no use in such a visit at present.

- Pravda acknowledged that 100 Soviet troops had moved back to Kandahar, which they had left last August, to help ROA troops hold the airfield open for supplies.

- Another Soviet opinion:

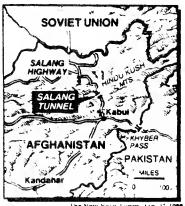
"It's a defeat, no question about it," an aide in the Communist Party's Central Committee told an American friend this week. "We had your experience in Vietnam right before our eyes, and we still went in like fools. The only thing we've been able to avoid is having to evacuate the last people from our Embassy in Kabul on helicopter skids."

- BNA - An ROA Foreign Affairs Min. spokesman said of the decision of some countries to evacuate their Kabul embassies: "Their actions do not mean that they do not believe in the power of the armed forces but it means they are afraid of the subversive activities of the armed extremist groups. These countries would soon realize that they had made useless decision because the armed forces will never allow anyone to disturb security of Kabul citizens, especially of the staffs of the embassies & int'l institutions."

- 25 kms. of the Kabul-Gardez highway, blocked for 7 months, has been reopened to traffic & "strong military posts have been set up as well."

On the food shortages: Friction over the supply situation has been evident between the government and the Soviet military, which must be out of Afghanistan by Feb. 15 under a U.N.-mediated agreement signed in April.

Maj. Gen. Lev Serebrov, deputy Soviet commander in Afghanistan, complained this week that his army had to feed all 2.3 million people in the city. He accused the Afghan regime of inefficiency and failing to ask for help in time.



1/28 - PT - Diego Cordovez plans to visit Islamabad & Kabul to witness the departure of the last Soviet troops.

- Epidemics of diarrhoea & urinary diseases are proving fatal around Jalalabad due to the lack of medicine & fresh food as well as "adulteration."

- LAT - France, Italy, Britain & Japan will pull their diplomats out of Afghanistan. Tass called the moves unjustified & said they reflected an attempt to undermine confidence in the Najibullah gov't.

- Soviet Defense Min. Yazov flew into Kabul to meet with Najibullah.

- BNA - Bakhtar blames the food & fuel shortages in Kabul on snow & Ahmad Shah Masood & his men who they claim have blockaded the Salang highway. The ROA has repeatedly asked Masood to give up.

- NYT - Pres. Bush said the US would try to play "a catalytic role for helping bring about stability, hopefully in a gov't where the people have a lot of say. And it won't be easy."

1/29 - PT - Pakistan's For. Min. Yaqub Khan left for Riyadh to discuss the Afghan situation with Saudi leaders.

- Asbury Park Press - The Iranians will keep their Kabul Embassy open but workers erected  $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick steel plates around its 8' high walls.

- NYT - In Kabul the black market rate for the US \$ is Afs. 230.

- Soviet Defense Min. Dmitri Yazov & Najibullah reached a "unity of views" on military, political & economic issues after a 2-day meeting in Kabul. They discussed long-term Soviet economic aid to Afghanistan.

- BNA - ROA Prime Min. Sharq visited warehouses in Balkh & Hairatan & instructed the responsible persons to expedite the transfer of consumer goods to Kabul & other areas.

1/30 - NYT - Richard Murphy, the senior Middle East policymaker during the Reagan Administration, said the US could not prevent the mujahideen from accelerating their onslaught against the ROA regime. He also stressed that the Bush Administration would not try to determine the shape of a future Afghan gov't. The primary role of the US would be to help rebuild the country & ease the return of the 5m refugees.

"Let's hope that the agony will be short and that there won't be bloodshed of Afghan against Afghan," Mr. Murphy said. "We'll do what we can to that end, we'll urge that, but there are very deep passions aroused against the occupier and they will be turned against those who have been central to the regime."

"We're looking at a painful moment," he said.

- LAT - A Soviet economic delegation in Kabul discussed how the USSR would "thwart the opposition's plans to establish an economic blockade of the capital." Moscow will supply food, fuel & "essentials."

- PT - Iranian For. Min. Velayati will arrive in Islamabad tomorrow, probably to discuss the difficulties the mujahideen are having in putting together a consultative group.

- BNA - New stamps were issued yesterday to commemorate the 2nd anniversary of nat'l reconciliation, the 69th anniversary of Afghan independence, the 125th anniversary of the Int'l Red Cross & the birth centennial of Nehru. 7 other new stamps show Afghan fruits.

1/31 - PT - The Pakistani For.

Min. returned from Riyadh:

Speaking to newsmen at the Islamabad Airport on his return from a two-day visit to Riyadh, Sahabzada Yaqub said, Saudi Arabia had a way of offering very valuable material and moral support in the Afghanistan crisis. The brotherly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, like Pakistan, had evinced keen interest in the efforts to resolve the issue. He said, the peo-

pie of both Pakistan and Afghanistan and the Afghan mujahideen, felt deeply indebted to the brotherly Kingdom for standing 'by us in this crisis' . . .

Sahabzada Yaqub said he went to Riyadh at the invitation of Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud Al Faisal so that "we could have a deep insight into the crucial position of Afghanistan".

In response to the question of Pakistan's exerting pressure on the mujahideen, he said, "We give advice to mujahideen only because of our close friendship with them."

1/31 - HK Standard - An ROA official dismissed as "pure propaganda" Western reports that hundreds of civilians had been killed by Soviet re-prisal bombings along the Salang highway last week (see 1/27). He said that only 25 civilians had been killed & that Soviet forces had not been involved.

- NYT - Last weekend the US State Dept. sent formal notes to some US Embassies in Europe, the Middle East & South Asia instructing them to deny visas to anyone attached to the ROA Gov't or the PDPA.

- A blizzard prevented US diplomats from leaving Kabul after closing the US Embassy.

[ Reuters reported from Kabul that after a Marine guard lowered the American flag at the fortified embassy, John Glassman, the chargé d'affaires, declared:

"God bless the United States of America. We're going home. We are leaving for security reasons. We'll be back as soon as the conflict is over."

- BNA - The Central Statistics Office reported that since 1980, Kabul's population has increased 53%. 215,000 households numbering 1,420,000 people live in the capital. Of Kabul's 11 precincts, the 11th is the most populous with 211,600 people. The 2nd precinct is the least dense with 52,100 people.

- In Kabul, greenhouses built in 1986-87 cover 2,680 sq. meters of land & provide "ample quantities of tomato & cucumbers for Kabul residents during the winter."

- Iranian For. Min. Velayati ruled out any role for ex-King Zaher Shah in the future of Afghanistan. "This irresponsible assertion...is in fact a clear interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan."

- PT - Another Soviet in Kabul:

The latest

Soviet official to arrive in Kabul for talks with Afghan officials is the First Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Yun Masiyukov. BBC correspondent reports from the Afghan capital that his visit forms part of Moscow's efforts to reassure the Government there that it will continue its support.

While Western diplomats partly about to leave the embattled capital this week say Moscow is mak-

ing every effort to re-assure its support will not end with the departure Kabul of Russian troops next month.

The Defence Minister General Demtrii Yazov had barely left Kabul on his way back to the Kremlin. Masiyukov will be discussing economic assistance for country which has been systematically devastated by nine years of war. He is the first high ranking economic expert to visit here since the two countries signed a series of agreements last September in Moscow.

The accords underscored Af-

ghanistan's almost complete dependence on the Soviet Union for the supply of basic foodstuff as well as fuel and technical equipment. But as one Soviet official put it, it is hard to discuss rehabilitation when no one is sure when the war and destruction will stop.



Ali Akbar Velayati

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| AICMB   | - Afghan Information Centre <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>             |
| AWSJ    | - <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>                              |
| BIA     | - Bakhtar Information Agency                                    |
| CC      | - Central Committee   |
| CSM     | - Christian Science Monitor                                     |
| DYOA    | - Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan                  |
| FRG     | - Federal Republic of Germany                                   |
| GDR     | - German Democratic Republic                                    |
| IHT     | - Int'l Herald Tribune  |
| KT      | - Kabul Times   |
| LAT     | - Los Angeles Times   |
| NGO     | - Non Governmental Organization                                 |
| NWFP    | - Northwest Frontier Province                                   |
| NYT     | - New York Times  |
| OIC     | - Organization of Islamic Conference                            |
| PDPA    | - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan                      |
| PSFO    | - Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization                   |
| PT      | - Pakistan Times  |
| PVO     | - Private Voluntary Organization                                |
| RC      | - Revolutionary Council   |
| RTV     | - Refugee Tent Village  |
| SCMP    | - South China Morning Post                                      |
| UNGA    | - United Nations General Assembly                               |
| UNGOMAP | - United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan & Pakistan |
| UNHCR   | - United Nations High Commission for Refugees                   |
| WSJ     | - Wall Street Journal   |

Line drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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